The Genesis of the United States. Being a Series of Historical Manuscripts..... Collected and Edited by Alexander Brown.....

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JAMES I

THE GENESIS

OF THE

UNITED STATES

A NARRATIVE OF THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND, 1605–1616, WHICH RESULTED IN THE PLANTATION OF NORTH AMERICA BY ENGLISHMEN, DISCLOSING THE CONTEST BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE SOIL NOW OCCUPIED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; SET FORTH THROUGH

A Series of Historical Manuscripts now first printed

TOGETHER WITH A REISSUE OF RARE CONTEMPORANEOUS TRACTS, ACCOMPANIED BY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA, NOTES, AND

Brief Biographies

COLLECTED, ARRANGED, AND EDITED BY

ALEXANDER BROWN

MEMBER OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND

WITH 100 PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND PLANS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1890

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Dedication.

As a slight token of my appreciation of their kindness and assistance, I most respectfully inscribe this work to those who have aided me in its preparation: Mr. Charles Deane, LL. D., of Cambridge, Mass., whose works first called my attention to the fact that the only contemporary history of our foundation was not trustworthy, and who has personally helped me in many ways in my own undertaking; the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Spain, without whose generous aid I could not have procured the copies of the records from the General Archives of Simancas; the Hon. E. P. C. Lewis, Minister Resident and Consul-General at Lisbon, who had the Archives of Portugal searched for me at his own expense; Professor M. Schele De Vere, LL. D., of the University of Virginia, who made translations for me of the French and Spanish documents, without charge; Rev. Edward D., Neill, A. B., of Minnesota, who permits me to use the documents collected by him and published in his works; Mr. Charles H. Kalbfleisch, of New York city, who has, I believe, the choicest collection of very early Americana in this country, and has presented me with copies of some of his very rare documents; Justin Winsor, LL. D., Librarian of Harvard University and Editor of *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, who has lent me valuable books; Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D., Historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia; and Rear-Admiral Thornton A. Jenkins, William C. Rives, Esq., R. A. Brock, Esq., and N. F. Cabell, Esq., of the Virginia Historical Society, who have aided me materially; The Society of Antiquaries of London, Sir John Alexander Thynne, fourth Marquess of Bath, the Hon. Sir L. S. Sackville-West, late Envoy Extraordinary, etc., from Great Britain to the United States, Sir John B. Monckton, Hon. Canon J. E. Jackson, Rev. Charles Herbert Mayo, Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, William Duncombe Pink, Esq., Thomas Dorman, Esq., W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq., G. D. Scull, Esq., S. W. Kershaw, Esq., Dr. J A. Kingdon, and most especially to Lt.-Col. William Cabell, of London.

MAURICE OF NASSAU

Prince of Orange

PREFACE.

"As in arts and sciences to be the first inventor is more than to illustrate or amplify; and as in the works of God the creation is greater than the preservation; and as in the works of nature the birth and nativity is more than the continuance; so in kingdomes the first foundation or plantation is of more noble dignity and merit than all that followeth. And the foundation that makes one of none, resembles the creation of the world, which was *de nihilo ad quid*." — SIR FRANCIS BACON.

THIS work is especially devoted to the period included between the return of Weymouth to England in July, 1605, and the return of Dale in June, 1616. This was the period of "*the first foundation*." It found many Englishmen ready and resolved to secure, for their country and for their religion, "a lot or portion in the New World," regardless of the claims of Spain and Rome; it witnessed the granting of the first public charters in England and the planting of the first public colonies in Virginia; it saw the greatest difficulties overcome, and it closed with the irrevocable establishment of the English race on American soil. It was the crucial period of English occupancy of North America; if the enterprise had then resulted in failure, the United States would not now be in existence. Yet, because of the insufficiency and inaccuracy of the only available sources of information, this period has hitherto been most imperfectly understood. The text of the first sermon (see p. 287) preached before the first company of Virginia has long since been fulfilled. We have long been "a great nation," and yet a full and fair account of our very beginning has never been accessible to us. The object of this work is to supply (at least in part) this national deficiency.

Time covered by the work.

I do not attempt to give a history of the colonies *in*

America, for during the foundation period of which I write, the colonies were really dependent on the companies in England. I endeavor to give as complete an idea (narrative, evidence, biography, and illustration) as is now possible of the movement (1605–1616), *in England*, which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen. And although I express my opinion sometimes, it is my special desire to furnish the reader with the means of forming his own opinion regardless of mine, and to present this means in such form as will enable him to do so readily and correctly. With these objects in view I have adopted the following method: First, I give an introductory sketch of what had been done by Englishmen in the way of discovery and colonization, prior to 1606, for the purpose of showing the motives and the guides which governed the Virginia companies when they first undertook to plant colonies in America. Then locating the narrative in London (because that city was the chief basis of operations), I aim to enable the reader to see the events as nearly as possible as they developed at that time, by presenting the evidence (the letters, broadsides, etc.), in the course of the narrative as nearly as possible in the same order of time that it was presented to those then interested in the enterprise.

The scope of the work.

The method.

The narrative.

The evidence.

In order to understand more clearly the evidence which remains, it will be necessary for us to glance over the records formerly existing, but now mostly missing. Of these the charters are of the first importance, and most fortunately they have been preserved. I think that the first draft[1] for the proposed first Virginia charter, annexed to the petition for the same, was drawn by Sir John Popham (see p. 47); but this draft was subject to alterations, as it had to be inspected, revised, and legally drawn (passing for these purposes through the hands of the King, the Privy Council, the Secretary of State, the Attor-

The records of the Virginia companies and colonies.

[1] See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xi. p. 169.

ney-general, the Solicitor-general, the Lord Chancellor, etc.), before the perfected instrument was finally signed, sealed, and delivered. The warrant for the first charter (V.) was issued by the Secretary of State (Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury); the charter itself was prepared by the Attorney-general (Sir Edward Coke) and the Solicitor-general (Sir John Dodderidge); and it was passed under the Great Seal by the Lord Chancellor (Sir Thomas Egerton). Under this charter both the North and South colonies in Virginia were subjected to the management of the same Royal Council resident in England (see p. 56, note). "The Booke-keeper" to this council was the most important and the best paid of "the under officers." He was appointed by the Lord Treasurer of England (Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset), was paid £100 ($2,500) per annum, and was required to keep complete records of the affairs of both Virginia colonies and companies. This first bookkeeper's records are missing; his name even is unknown. A recorder or secretary was also appointed for each colony, and sent over with the first planters, who was to compile descriptions of the country and people, relations of affairs in his colony, etc.; and the councils in each colony were required to have proper clerks, who were to keep a regular set of books for accounts and all business matters. Capt. Gabriel Archer (a lawyer) was the recorder for the Southern colony, and "Mr. Seaman" (probably Mr. Richard Seymour, a preacher), for the Northern colony. The names of the colonial clerks are not known, and the records kept by these early recorders and clerks — with the possible exception of XXI., XXII., XXIII., and XXXVI. — are still wanting.

The first drafts annexed to the petitions for the second (LXVI.) and third (CCII.) charters, were probably drawn up by Sir Edwin Sandys (see pp. 47, 207). The warrants for both of these charters were issued by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; the charters were both prepared by Sir Henry Hobart and Sir Francis Bacon, and both were passed under the Great Seal by Sir

The records of the Virginia Company of London.

Thomas Egerton. While many of the same men were members of both Virginia companies, the Southern company became an entirely distinct corporate body under the second charter (see pp. 206–208), and as such was organized somewhat on the plan of the East India and other great commercial companies, save that it was under the management of a special royal council. The Royal Council was the peculiar plantation feature of both Virginia companies, and the idea is especially commended by Bacon in several of his discourses. Besides this special protecting and connecting link to the crown, the company was directed by the treasurer and deputy treasurer (both of whom were to be also members of the Royal Council); sixteen directors (a majority to be of the Royal Council); seven auditors (two at least of the Royal Council and three at least of the quorum); a secretary, a bookkeeper, the husband, the beadle, and "the cashyer." The auditors audited all accounts, and reduced the whole receipts and disbursements of each year into a book. They also kept in a separate book "set downe particularly and exactly the names of all Adventurers, with their several sums adventured; stating what is paid and what is remaining unpaid." The bookkeeper was the clerk to the auditors. "The cashyer" was the clerk to the treasurer of the company. The husband was the special manager of the concerns of the ships, etc., and kept a regular record of every voyage, which he presented to the auditors, and they to the court. There were several courts, namely: —

A. The Court of "the Committies" or Directors, composed of not less than seven, whereof the treasurer or deputy must be one. They had a general direction of the affairs of the company, and met "whensoever occasion of business shall require."

B. The Ordinary Courts of the company, composed of not less than five of the Royal Council (the treasurer or deputy being one) and fifteen of the generality, "which assembled every Wednesday fortnight reckoning from the Great Quarter Courts, for dispatch of ordinary and extraordinary business."

C. The Preparative Courts of the Directors (a special branch of A.) were held every Monday before a Great Quarter Court to prepare such business as was to be submitted to that court.

D. The Great Quarter Courts, "which assembled upon the last Wednesday save one of Hillarie (Winter) term, Easter (Spring), Trinity (Summer), and Michaelmas (Fall) terms, to elect officers, make laws and consider the business submitted to them by the Preparative Court" (C.).

The secretary, who was a most important officer, kept the records of the proceedings of all four of the courts, each of which had its own set of books (the position was filled, during the period of which I write, by Richard Atkinson, Edward Maye (or Mayo), Henry Fotherby, and possibly others). There were a great many other books besides those which I have mentioned, and all were kept in the secretary's office. "The Secretarie shall also keepe safe in the Companies chest of evidences, the originals of all the Letters Patents, and other writings aforementioned: all the Bookes also aforesaid: All the Treasurers Bookes of the yearely accounts: The Husbands Bookes of accounts of every voyage to Virginia: and all other accounts perfected and approved by the Auditors. In the same chest shall be kept all Charter Parties, as well cancelled as uncancelled: All Bonds made to the Companie, or for their use: And all Bonds of the Companies discharged and cancelled: And all other writings and muniments whatsoever belonging to the Companie. And the Secretarie shall deliver out none of the Companies writings, but by direction from the Treasurer, Counseil or Court: taking a note of the parties hand for the true restoring of them." I doubt if a single original from "the Companies chest" remains. The documents of an official character which I give have been taken from first drafts, copies, or from originals preserved by other parties than the company to the instrument. It is thought that the originals were all destroyed by the great fire of 1666; but I am sure that enough remains to show

very clearly the almost insurmountable obstacles which the managers of the movement during the foundation period were obliged to meet and to master.

A review of the growth of the available information.

The early records of the Virginia companies, kept under the supervision of some of the best business men of the time, were evidently very complete; but for good and sufficient reasons they were never accessible to the public; no history was compiled from them, and no contemporary account was written by a properly qualified or properly equipped person. From 1624 to 1857, and even later, Capt. John Smith's "General History" (see his biography) was "almost the only source from which we derived any knowledge of the infancy of our State." As the extracts from the records of the Virginia Company of London, now preserved in the Library of Congress at Washington, relate chiefly to the later period of 1619–1624, it will not be necessary to discuss them here; but as they sometimes refer back to the period of which I write, I will ask the reader to remember, when reading Stith's and other histories based on these records, that the administration whose organ, or reports, they are was of an unfriendly and opponent party to the old founder administration. And it will be well to remember at all times, that it is a remarkable fact, and one greatly to be deplored, that the story of our very beginning has been based almost entirely on the evidence of those who were opponents or enemies of the managers who established the first English colony in America. In 1787 Thomas Jefferson, who was as well informed in the premises as any man, knew of only five documents written during 1606–1616, namely: V., XII., LXVI., CXXVIII., and CCIII. In 1857 only twenty-seven of the contemporary papers had been printed (and thus made available) in America; but at this date the repositories of the Old World began to open their doors more freely, and since then the accumulation of evidence has been more rapid. Within the next thirty years about forty-four documents of more or less importance were added to the list of

American publications. To these seventy-one I now add about three hundred. Some of these may be of no great consequence; but, as a whole, they form the most important contribution yet made to our earliest history.

The documents and reprints are furnished with head-notes, which state explicitly their origin and present location, as well as the events which called them forth, and with explanatory foot-notes. These notes are based not only on the papers mentioned in the work, but on many other authorities of a little later date. The documents are printed, when taken from English records, with scrupulous precision as to spelling and capitalization, and the translations from the Spanish and French have been made as literal as possible with due regard to intelligibility.

Method of presenting the evidence.

For cogent reasons, it was impracticable to give all of the tracts, reprints, etc., in full in this work. In presenting the evidence, I have been guided by the following classification: —

Classification of the evidence.

I. *Manuscripts which never before have been printed.* These are given in full regardless of their length.

II. *Printed papers which never have been reprinted either in England or in America.*

III. *Manuscripts in foreign languages of which translations into English never before have been printed.*

IV. *Manuscripts and printed papers which have appeared at a later date in print, but not in America.* These three divisions are given in full except in some instances when the length renders this impracticable; in such cases extended extracts are given.

V. *Manuscripts and printed papers which have been printed in America.* In this division only the briefer papers have been reproduced, but careful reference has been made to the longer ones, and full account given of the American reprint.

VI. *Illustrative material.* This is properly noted for convenient reference.

The evidence presented is of so varied a character, that it should be sifted and considered with great care. In order to place a correct estimate, it is of the first importance to regard the ideas and the motives which influenced the writers and the compilers. All evidence (outside of the private exact record, and unfortunately in this instance but little of this remains) which relates to an enterprise necessarily carried on with secrecy and diplomacy must be "taken with a grain of allowance;" even the tracts "published by the authority of the Council" contained only such items as it was thought advisable to present to the public. The success of the enterprise really depended on the discretion, judgment, secrecy, and diplomacy of the managers, and in their reports much was kept private, and very probably misrepresentation was sometimes made for the especial purpose of misleading. The tracts printed by individuals without the authority of the Virginia Council were inspired by some personal motive, and must be weighed accordingly. The character of the evidence which remained in manuscript is various: when written by those well informed and competent, and where there was no personal motive or diplomacy, it is more apt to be trustworthy than evidence published for a purpose; but some of the writers were not in a position to gain accurate intelligence, and some were bitter enemies of the enterprise, incapable of doing justice to the movement. However, I give the documents to the reader as they are, with Sir Francis Bacon's maxim: "It is the office of history to represent the events themselves together with the counsels and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment."

Remarks on the evidence.

I have given somewhat extended biographies of the leaders; but of the generality I only attempt to give enough to enable the reader to identify the persons, and thus to form a correct estimate of those engaged in the enterprise. This portion of the work, besides the value which it possesses as a record not elsewhere to be found,

The biography.

affords the student admirable facilities for an intelligent reading of the documents. It renders the entire work self-explanatory to an important degree.

The reader is referred to the head-note to Brief Biographies on pp. 807, 808, for additional remarks on the biographies and portraits. The illustrations, including maps, plans, etc. — some of them of peculiar interest and value — will be found at proper places in the volumes (see the List of Illustrations). And, finally, all the various subjects, persons, places, etc., mentioned are collected together in good form for ready reference by the General Index.

The illustrations.

The General Index.

In brief, I have attempted to make the work as complete a history as is now possible of the movement in England which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen; to give the narrative with the evidence, and the actors therein with their lives and portraits; to enable the reader to see the events, and those engaged pass before his mind's eye almost as they passed before the Londoner of two hundred and eighty years ago.

Résumé.

Much has been written in advocacy of several particular founders, and it is true that some were much more active than others; but the first foothold on America was not secured through the instrumentality of any single Englishman. The plantation of this country by English Protestants was a result of the Reformation.

The movement.

The Spaniards were the first to establish colonies in America. Their sovereign aimed not only at the restoration of the Roman Catholic empire in Europe, but also at the creation of a new Roman empire in America, which was held (and could only be held) as the exclusive property of the Spanish crown under the Bulls of the Popes of Rome. For forty years the New World had been an important factor in the great struggle then waging between Protestantism and Romanism. The idea that the dangerous and increasing power of Spain and Rome in America should be

checked had been growing in England ever since the arrival there, in 1565, of the Huguenots who escaped massacre by the Spaniards in Florida; it had produced several enterprises of a private character; but in 1605 it took a national turn, and very many Englishmen were determined to consummate the idea by securing for their country and for their religion, "a lot or portion in the New World," regardless of the claims of Spain and of the Bulls of the Popes. They were convinced that the establishment of English colonies in North America would not only put "a byt into their ainchent enymyes' mouth," but would also advance the commonwealth, the commerce, and the church of England, or English Protestantism.

The founders.

Although many took little or no interest in the matter, and some were critics, opponents, and enemies of the enterprise from the first, still the movement was really a national one. I am very sure that a majority of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons were interested. The government was represented by the king, the royal family, and many great officials; the church by some of her most noted divines; the trades by the city companies of London and by some of the greatest merchants of England; the army, the navy, and the learned professions by an assemblage of peculiarly illustrious names. England had the earnest support of the Protestants of the United Netherlands; and "the Eyes of all Europe were looking upon their endeavors to spread the Gospel among the Heathen people of Virginia, to plant an English nation there, and to settle at in those parts" (p. 463). It was regarded "as an action concerning God, and the advancement of religion, the present ease, future honor and safety of the kingdom, the strength of the Navy, the visible hope of a great and rich trade, and many secret blessings not yet discovered" (p. 253). It was under the management of some of the greatest men in English history; they selected one of the strongest natural positions for their purpose on our Atlantic coast; they took fast hold

The foundation.

there; they prayed "unto that mercifull and tender God, who is both easie and glad to be intreated, that it would please him to blesse and water these feeble beginnings, and that as he is wonderfull in all his works, so to nourish this graine of seed, that it may spread untill all people of the earth admire the greatnesse and seeke the shades and fruite thereof" (p. 352); and it pleased God to answer their prayer. "All people of the earth admire our greatness;" and yet, as I have said, our knowledge of these men and of their work has been derived almost entirely from the evidence of their opponents. I have tried to correct this great national and historical wrong. Necessarily very much is still wanting in the historical portion of my work; but I believe the true character of our founders is sufficiently shown in the biography (which thus throws much of the needed additional light on the history), and I think that a correct idea of our first foundation "which was *de nihilo ad quid*," will be arrived at, if the reader will take the pains to consider the whole work from Preface to Finis, before forming a fixed opinion.

I have been earnestly laboring, since July, 1876, "to gather together all the fragments that remain that nothing be lost," which relates to the Genesis of the United States. My task has been a long, a laborious, and a very expensive one; but as it progressed, I became more and more convinced that it was a patriotic duty which should be performed at all hazards; and, therefore, although it has obliged me to practice every self-denial and to overcome difficulties which would have baffled many men, my effort in behalf of the true source of our historic life, in behalf of justice to our founders, has gone on from year to year for fourteen years. And now that my task is done, and the result of my long labors submitted to the jury, I sincerely hope that I may receive a satisfactory verdict from those who are enjoying "the shades and the fruite" produced by the "graine of seed" which our founders planted.

My task.

It was my intention to dedicate the work to a few special friends; but this design has been abandoned for good and sufficient reasons. I shall, however, avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge my obligation for assistance of various kinds in the preparation of these volumes, to the following Americans: The late Mr. CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., of Cambridge, Mass., who gave me his helping hand from the beginning to the end; his last letter to me is expressive of his interest and great faith in my work; the Hon. J. L. M. CURRY, LL. D., late envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Spain, without whose generous aid I could not have procured the copies of the records from the General Archives of Simancas; Professor M. SCHELE DE VERE, LL. D., of the University of Virginia, who made the translations of the French and Spanish documents for me without charge; the Hon. E. P. C. LEWIS, late minister resident and consul-general at Lisbon, who had the Archives of Portugal searched for me at his own expense; Mr. HORACE E. SCUDDER, of Cambridge, Mass., who gave me his most valuable assistance and advice in preparing, presenting, and editing the work; Mr. CHARLES H. KALBFLEISCH, of New York, who presented me with copies of several very rare documents from his exceedingly choice collection of very early Americana; Rev. EDWARD D. NEILL, A. B., of Minnesota, who permitted me to use the documents collected by him and published in his works; Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., librarian of Harvard University, BURTON N. HARRISON, Esq., and WILLIAM PITT ROBINSON, Esq., of New York, who lent me scarce and valuable books, and assisted me greatly in various ways; Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, D. D., historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia; the late WILLIAM CABELL RIVES, Esq., of Virginia; Rear-Admiral THORNTON A. JENKINS, Hon. A. R. SPOFFORD, librarian of Congress, and Dr. G. BROWN GOODE, of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; the late Hon. J. RUSSELL

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of Webster, "a power to which Rome, in the height of her glory, was not to be compared, — a power which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with its possessions and military posts, — whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of its martial airs."

"Union Hill," Nelson County, Va.,
May $\frac{14}{24}$, 1890.

PHILIP III
King of Spain

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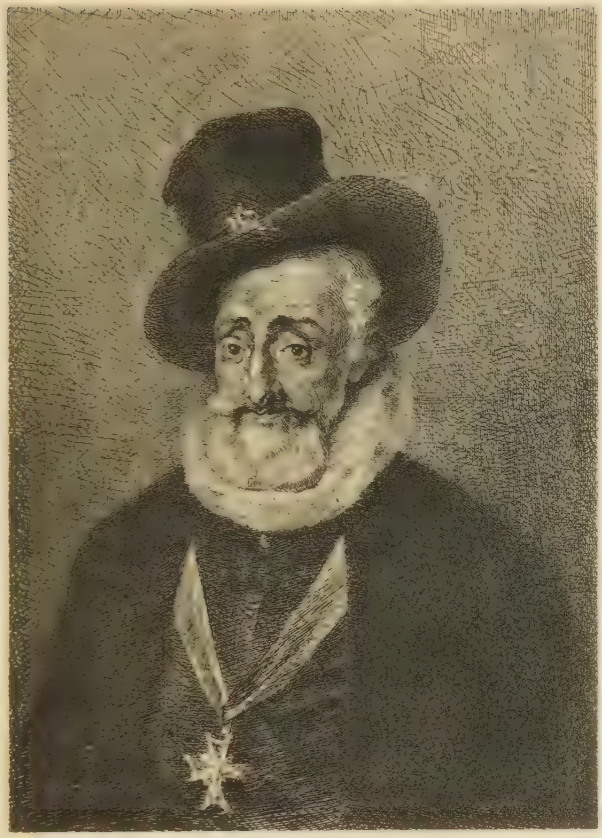

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QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE GENESIS OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH

COVERING THE PERIOD FROM 1485–1605.

In order to form correct ideas of the motives which governed the Virginia companies, and to know what guides they had to go by when they undertook to plant colonies in America, it is necessary to ascertain what had been done in matters of this nature prior to 1606. I have made a study of what was done in naval affairs, discovery, commerce, and colonization from 1470 to 1605, and have compiled[1] an extended chronological list of sundry events coming under these heads. This list is entirely too long for use in this work, and I must content myself with extracts therefrom as brief as possible consistent with the object in view. While I shall relieve the reader's mind from the burden of much foreign matter, confining myself quite closely to the acts of Englishmen, he must remember that English statesmen like Walsingham and Cecil, geographers like Hakluyt, and merchants like Gresham kept themselves thoroughly informed regarding all foreign commercial affairs, discoveries, etc., and of course foreign publications were also accessible to Englishmen.

The Wars of the Roses ended on Bosworth Field August 22, 1485. The union of the Roses was effected in the marriage of Henry VII. with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., January 18, 1486, and England, for the first time in thirty years, freed from internal strife,

[1] From contemporary authorities in print and MS. still preserved in public and private collections at home and abroad.

was able to take her position in the line of the world's progress. John Cabot was sent to America, and charters for discovery and colonization were granted to him and his sons, and also to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashhurst, Hugh Eliot, Nicholas Thorne the elder, and others; but these charters, in order to be "without prejudice to Spain and Portugal,"[1] could not extend south of 44° north latitude, and thus the English were confined in the New World to a region too cold and desolate to encourage settlement.

Henry VII. died April 21, 1509, and was succeeded by Henry VIII., whose reign marks a transition period in the history of England of the greatest interest and importance. His contentions with the popes of Rome were instrumental in establishing the Church of England, in creating a disregard for the papal bulls relating to America, and finally in establishing English colonies in America.

Henry VIII. laid the foundation of the English navy as a distinct service. The Royal Dock at Deptford was established by him about the beginning of his reign; the old naval storehouse there was erected by him in 1513. In 1512 the Trinity House was founded by Captain Thomas Spert, as an "Association for piloting ships." It was incorporated in 1514. The most remarkable publication of this reign having a bearing on America was Sir Thomas More's "Utopia." And the most notable voyage was the expedition of Master Robert Hore of London to Newfoundland, April to October, 1536, in two ships with Armigil Wade, Oliver Dawbeney, merchant of London, M. Joy, M. Weekes, M. Thomas Buts, M. Tucke, M. Tuckfield, M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastel, M. Ridley, with sixteen other gentlemen and ninety others, sailors, etc.

Henry VIII. died January 28, 1547, and was succeeded by his son, Edward VI., who began to establish Protestant-

[1] See letter of January 21, 1496, from Doctor de Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and their reply of March 28, following. I understand the Papal Bulls to divide between Spain and Portugal, by a north and south line, only the new discoveries "west and south" of Spain.

ism in England and to look out for new lands, regardless of the bulls of the popes of Rome. He recalled Sebastian Cabot from Spain, and under his leadership that great association was formed in England called "The Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant Adventurers for discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown." It was to a certain extent a reissuance to a company of the Cabot charter of 1496; but this charter did not regard the bounds as fixed by the Pope, as the Cabot charter did. Discoveries were not confined to "North, east, and west of England." The leading men in the enterprise were Sir George Barnes and Sir William Gerrard. The descendants of very many of the founders of this company were afterwards interested in planting colonies in America.

Edward VI. died July 6, 1553, and was succeeded by Queen Mary, who reëstablished Romanism in England. She married Philip II. of Spain July 25, 1554, and July 6, 1555, Philip and Mary granted a second charter to the Merchant Adventurers, confining them to the north, northeast, and northwestward of England, thus respecting the Spanish claims more fully than the Cabot grant of 1496 had done. In this reign many English merchants visited, inspected, and gained a knowledge of King Philip's possessions in America. In 1555 Richard Eden published his "Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India," which is the first published collection of voyages in English. It is dedicated to "Philip, King of England and Spain."

Queen Mary died November 17, 1558, and was succeeded by Queen Elizabeth.

The reigns of the sovereigns of England from 1485 to 1558 may be studied only as having a bearing on our history. America south of 44° north latitude was really conceded to Spain, and before Elizabeth ascended the throne of England the Spaniards had explored our coasts,[1] east and west, and had traversed a large part of our present territory. But under Elizabeth the embryo took shape, and her reign

[1] See *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii.

must be studied closely as the direct introduction to our beginning.

Elizabeth at once took issue with the Pope in her first Parliament (1559), a bill was passed which vested in the crown of England the supremacy claimed by the Pope of Rome, the mass was abolished, and the Protestant religion reëstablished.

May, 1562, Captain Jean Ribault, who had been sent by Admiral Coligny, determined to lay the foundation of the first Huguenot colony in North America at Port Royal (South Carolina).

October, 1562, Captain John Hawkins sailed from England on his first voyage to the West Indies, and in September, 1563, they returned to England with accounts of their voyage.

Leaving his colony in America Captain Ribault returned to France, but early in 1563 he was obliged to take refuge in England, and soon after his arrival there was published in London his account of Terra Florida (the flourishing land), on May 30, 1563.

Some time before June 30, 1563, the celebrated Captain Thomas Stukely proposed to settle his province in Terra Florida.

The French colonists left by Ribault at Charles Fort (Carolina), compelled by distress to abandon the country, landed in England in the fall of 1563.

April 22, 1564, Coligny sent a second colony of Huguenots under Captain René de Laudonnière, who settled on St. John's River, Florida. In October, 1564, Captain John Hawkins sailed from England on his second voyage to Guinea and the West Indies, set forth by the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Robert Dudley, the Lord Admiral Clinton, Sir William Cecil, Sir William Gerrard, Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, Benjamin Gonson, Edward Castlyn, John Hawkins, and William Winter. This expedition passed along the whole coast of Florida, and on the 3d of August, 1565, relieved the Huguenots at Fort Caroline.

Thence they sailed "along the whole extent of our east coast," *via* Newfoundland, and reached England in September, 1565. The next month the Huguenots, Laudonnière, Le Moine, Challeux, and others who had escaped massacre by the Spaniards in Florida, landed in Wales. Hawkins and his men gave a lively description of Florida, its products, soil, climate, etc. They brought to England samples of tobacco, potatoes, and other products. The Huguenots told the English of the destruction of the Protestant colony in America. They were able to give a general idea of the country which now is Florida, Georgia, and Carolina. Laudonnière, Challeux, and Le Moine each wrote accounts which were afterwards published. Challeux's account was published in England in 1566. Le Moine, the painter, who was commissioned by Coligny to make a description and map of the country with drawings of all curious objects, etc., remained in England, under the patronage and consulted by the Gilberts, Ralegh, the Sidneys, and others. He died in England about 1587, and not long before his death he published "La Clef des Champs, pour trouver plusieurs Animaux, tant Bestes qu'Oyseaux, avec plusieurs Fleurs & Fruits. Anno 1586," which is dedicated to Madame Sidney (Sir Philip's mother) by her very affectionate servant, the author. The relations of the returning Huguenots of 1563 and 1565, and of Hawkins and his men, planted a determination in the minds of a few Englishmen to possess at least a portion of that country. This plant may have grown slowly at times, but evidently it continued to grow.

November 17, 1566, a bill passed Parliament defining and increasing the privileges, etc., of the Merchant Adventurers of 1555, and changing their name to "The Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades." Some time before November, 1566, Humphrey Gilbert petitioned Queen Elizabeth for privileges for himself and his two brothers to discover the northeast passage to Cathay, and soon after this date he petitioned the queen for privileges for himself and "the heirs of Otes Gylberte," for

discoveries to the northwest. On January 24, 1567, Sir William Gerrard and Alderman Rowland Haiwarde, as the representatives of the Merchant Adventurers, wrote to Secretary Cecil in regard to Gilbert's second petition.

October 2, 1567, Captain John Hawkins sailed from Plymouth on his third voyage with six vessels. Among the officers were Captain John Hampton, Captain Thomas Bolton, Master Francis Drake, and Master Robert Barret.

On September 23 or 24, 1568, Hawkins lost three of his ships in a memorable fight with the Spaniards at "San Juan d'Ulua" (Vera Cruz). October 8th he was forced to set ashore north of the bay of Tampico, Mexico, 114 of his men. Three of these, David Ingram, Richard Brown, and Richard Twide, marched northward, and within twelve months, having evidently traversed a great part of the present United States, they reached the Atlantic coast about fifty leagues from Cape Breton, where they found a French vessel which carried them to England "anno 1568." About seventy of these men marched westward into Mexico under the command of Anthony Goddard. Among these were Miles Phillips and Job Hortop, who afterwards published accounts of their travels. Merchants kept themselves well informed as to what was going on in the world, but this information, for business reasons, was seldom given to the public. However, in this instance we know that, in less than forty days after the disaster of September 24 at Vera Cruz, the news had been given to Benedict Spinola, a merchant of London, who reported to Admiral William Winter, and he notified Master William Hawkins, who wrote to Secretary Cecil about the report on December 3, 1568. Just before this letter was written several Spanish ships laden with treasure, being chased in the Channel by men-of-war belonging to the Prince of Condé, were compelled to sail into the harbors on the south coast of England for safety. So William Hawkins begged Cecil "to advertise the Queen thereof, to the end there might be some stay made of King Philip's treasure here in these partes, till

there be sufficient recompens made for the great wrong offered" his brother at Vera Cruz. And Cecil decided "to stay this treasure" in England for a time. These incidents produced a rupture with Spain which was not healed. "All the materials for an explosion had long been accumulating, and nothing but a spark was necessary to fire the train."[1] The spark kindled in Mexico at the City of the True Cross had a wonderful influence on the destiny of North America.

In January, 1569, in the midst of the bitter contention over "King Philip's treasure," which had been "stayed" on his account, Captain John Hawkins reached England, and his report of the events of his voyage widened the breach between England and Spain. America was thenceforward an important object in the great struggle between Protestantism and Romanism.

In the spring of 1569 England was repairing her seaports. In the autumn of the same year there was a rising of the Roman Catholics in the North of England.

"On the morning of the 15th of May, 1570, the Bull declaring Elizabeth deposed and her subjects absolved from their allegiance was found nailed against the Bishop of London's door."[2]

On the 25th of August, 1572, the great massacre on St. Bartholomew's day took place in France, and the house of the English ambassador (Francis Walsingham) in Paris was a place of refuge for the Huguenots.

In 1574 most of the Englishmen set on shore in Mexico by Hawkins in October, 1568, were sentenced by the Holy Office, and these men were the performers at the celebration of the first Auto-da-fé in the New World.[3] Sixty-eight were punished with stripes and imprisonment in the galleys, and three were burnt to ashes.

March 22, 1574, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peck-

[1] Burgon's *Life and Times of Sir T. Gresham*, vol. ii. p. 277.

[2] Froude's *History of England*, vol. x. p. 59.

[3] See Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 87, January, 1888, item 134; also the narrative of Miles Philips in Hakluyt.

ham, Mr. Christopher Carlile, Sir Richard Grenville, and others petitioned Queen Elizabeth to allow of an enterprise for discovery of sundry rich and unknown lands "fatally reserved for England and for the honor of your Majesty." Soon after this, and possibly as a result of this petition, Frobisher delivered a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Muscovy company, urging them to make discoveries or else to grant their license to others. The company returned an unfavorable reply, but in December following Frobisher procured a second letter from the queen, "requiring the company either to attempt the matter themselves or to grant licence to another to do it by the northwestward."[1] The company granted the desired license on February 3, 1575, but "the enterprise was stayed this year for lack of Money."[1] Frobisher made his first voyage to the northwest under this license, June to October, 1576; the second, May to September, 1577; and the third May to October, 1578. These voyages were sent out by a stock company composed of more than ninety English people of means who were then interested in advancing foreign discoveries and commerce. Of these Julius Cæsar, Michael Lock, Mrs. Mary Sidney, Richard Martin, and probably others; and the heirs of most of them were interested in establishing the colonies in America in 1605–1616.

November 6, 1577, some one presented the queen with "A discourse how Her Majesty may annoy the Kinge of Spaine by fitting out a fleet of shippes of war under pretence of Letters Patent, to discover and inhabit strange places, with special proviso, for their safeties whom policy requires to have most annoyed — by which means the doing the contrary shall be imputed to the executor's fault; your Highness's letters patent being a manifest show that it was not your Majesty's pleasure so to have it," etc. Under this plan the writer offers to destroy the great Spanish fleets which went every year to the banks of Newfoundland for the fish for their fasting days, and continues: "If you will

[1] *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, East Indies*, 1513–1616, pp. 12, 13.

let us first do this we will next take the West Indies from Spain. You will have the gold and silver mines and the profit of the soil. You will be monarch of the seas and out of danger from every one. I will do it if you will allow me; only you must resolve and not delay or dally — the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death."[1] This remarkable document is not signed. On the day that it was written Sir Humphrey Gilbert had a consultation with Dr. Dee at Mortlake. The same idea of "reading between the lines" will be found in Gilbert's letter to Cecil from Tregouse September 7, 1572, and in several other letters of his.[2]

January 7, 1578, England and the United Netherlands made a treaty for the mutual support of each other against the then exorbitant power of Spain.

June 11, 1578, Elizabeth granted letters-patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs or assigns, for the inhabiting and planting an English colony in America, with "special proviso" that there shall be no robbing "by sea or by land," etc. In the fall Gilbert sailed for America with seven ships and 350 men; but all the fleet was forced to return within a short time save the Falcon, commanded by Captain Walter Ralegh.

Early in 1579 Gilbert was preparing to sail again for America in "a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea;" but Ralegh had already had a dangerous sea-fight with the Spaniards and other complications had arisen, so the English council ordered Gilbert to "stay" until these matters were settled.

In September, 1580, Drake returned to England from his voyage round the world, and the Spanish minister in England demanded that the treasure taken by him from Spaniards should be returned to Spain. The English government in their answer made this important declaration: "That they could not acknowledge the Spanish right to all that country, either by donation from the Pope or

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*

[2] See Froude's *Hist. of England*, vol. x. p. 417, note.

from their having touched here and there upon those coasts, built cottages, and given names to a few places; that this by the law of nations could not hinder other princes from freely navigating those seas and transporting colonies to those parts where the Spaniards do not inhabit; that prescription without possession availed nothing."

Captain Edward Fenton's voyage, June, 1582, to May, 1583.

July 16, 1582, Sir George Peckham had a consultation with Dr. John Dee "to know the tytle for Norombega in respect of Spain and Portugall parting the whole World's destilleryes." [1]

August and September, 1582, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir George Peckham, Captain Christopher Carlisle, and divers others of good judgment and credit examined David Ingram as to America to the southwest of Cape Breton. They also examined the reports of "Vererzamis, Jacques Cartier, John Barros (Johann Baros), Andrew Thevett, and John Walker; with the last three Sir Humphrey Gilbert did confer in person." [2]

November 2, articles of agreement indented between Sir H. Gilbert and such as adventure with him touching new lands to be discovered or conquered by him.[3]

November 6, report or prospectus for the voyage of discovery to be undertaken by Sir H. Gilbert, the nature of the country and the advantage of its trade, and a detail of early voyages of discovery in America and Canada.[4]

November. Master Thomas Aldworth, merchant of Bristol, wrote to Walsingham that he had a good inclination to the western discovery.[5]

February 7, 1583, while the arrangements for his voyage were in progress Gilbert wrote to Walsingham, "touching the queen's desire for him to stay at home," etc.[6]

[1] Dee's Diary.

[2] *Royal Hist. MS. Com. Report*, ii. p. 45. MS. of Lord Calthorpe. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574–1660.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*

[4] Ibid.

[5] Hakluyt, vol. iii.

[6] *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*

Archbishop of Canterbury

March 11, 1583, Walsingham wrote to Aldworth commending his good inclination to the western discovery; and on the same day wrote also to the Rev. Richard Hakluyt, "encouraging him to publish about discoveries in the western parts," etc.[1]

March 17, Ralegh wrote to Gilbert, telling him: "I have sent you a token from her Majesty, an ancor guided by a lady," and further conveying her Majesty's good wishes for the success of his voyage, etc.[2]

March 27, Aldworth replied to Walsingham concerning a western voyage intended for the discovery of the coast of America lying to the southwest of Cape Breton, telling him the merchants of Bristol had subscribed the sum of 1,000 marks and upward. propose to send two vessels, to be left in the country under the government of Captain Carlisle if agreeable, etc.[3]

In April Captain Carleil issued "A discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermoste parts of America,"[4] to induce the merchants of London to contribute thereto. In reply to this discourse the Merchant Adventurers appointed Alderman Hart, Messrs. Spencer, William Burrough, Christopher Hudson, William Towerson, Slanye, Stapers, Maye, John Castelin, and Nicholas Leake to conferre with M. Carlile, and this committee set down certain points to guide them in this intended conference, viz.: "That 100 men be conveyed thither to remain one whole year, who with friendly entreaty of the people may enter into the better knowledge of the country, and gather what commodities may be hereafter expected from it. The charges will amount to £4,000, the city of Bristol having very readily offered £1,000, the residue remains to be furnished by the city of London. Privileges to be procured by M. Carlile for the first adventurers; also terms upon which future settlers will be allowed to plant. In the

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii.

[2] *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh*, by Edwards, vol. ii. p. 19.

[3] Hakluyt, vol. iii.

[4] Ibid.

patent to be granted by the Queen liberty will be given to transport all contented to go."[1]

May 20, 1583, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, agreed to adventure 100 marks with Carlile in this his intended discovery rather than it should fail, for his friend's sake, etc. (*i. e.*, Walsingham's sake).[2] For some reason Carlile gave over his part in this voyage, but on June 11, 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from "Caushen Bay neere Plimmouth" on his voyage to the west and northwest of America with a fleet of five ships. They landed in Newfoundland August 4, and the next day took possession in the right of the crowne of England. August 20 they sailed toward the southwest of Cape Breton. August 29 one of the vessels was wrecked on Sable Island. August 31 Gilbert sailed homeward, and at midnight September 9 the lights of the little Squirrel went out forever. Sir Humphrey Gilbert and all in her were swallowed up by the sea. The Golden Hinde, Captain Edward Hayes, reached Falmouth September 22, 1583. There was a long lingering hope in England that Gilbert had weathered the storm and would finally arrive safely in England. There were earnest appeals for colonization and it was proposed to make another attempt under Gilbert's patent.

While the foregoing voyage of Gilbert's was under way, there was another American venture on the tapis, and it is not always easy to assign the contemporary references to these voyages accurately. January 23, 1583, Secretary Walsingham, Mr. Adrian Gilbert and Dr. John Dee talk over the northwest straits discovery. The next day the above together with John Davis and Mr. Beale have a secret conference on the same subject. March 6, Dr. Dee, Mr. Adrian Gilbert, John Davis, Mr. Alderman Barnes, Mr. Towerson, Mr. Young, and Mr. Hudson continue the conference about the northwest voyage.[3]

[1] *State Papers, Colonial*, 1574–1660.

[2] *Illus. of Brit. Hist.*, Lodge, vol. ii. pp. 241, 243.

[3] Dr. Dee's Diary.

June, 1583, heads of the grant to Adrian Gilbert to discover and settle the northerly part of Atlantis called *Novus Orbis*, not inhabited or discovered by any Christians hitherto but by him. The said Adrian Gilbert, John Dee, and John Davis to be exempt from all customs forever.[1]

February 6, 1584, the queen granted letters-patent to Master Adrian Gilbert, Walter Ralegh, Dr. John Dee, John Davis, William Sanderson, and others, for the search and discovery of the northwest passage to China. Captain John Davis made three voyages under this patent, the particulars of which it will not be necessary to give.

March 25, 1584, after Gilbert's death was assured, the letters-patent for discovering and planting of new lands, etc., were regranted, with the same special proviso, to his half brother, Walter Ralegh, and on April 27 Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow sailed from England, set forth at the charges of Ralegh, Sir Richard Greenville, Mr. William Sanderson, and others. The expedition reached the present coast of North Carolina in July; returned to England about the middle of September. They gave a glowing description of the land of "Wyngandacoia," and England's virgin queen named the land Virginia.

December 14, 1584, the bill in confirmation of Ralegh's patent was read in the House of Commons the first time.[2] In the afternoon it was read the second time and committed to the vice-chancellor, Christopher Hatton, Secretary Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Greenville, and others. December 17, the said bill without alterations was ordered to be engrossed. The next day it was read for the third time, when after many arguments and a proviso added it passed the House upon the question. December 19, the bill was read the first time in the House of Lords. It was drafted as "An Act for the confirmation of the Queen's Majesty's letters-patent

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*

[2] At least twenty members of this House were interested in American colonization, 1606–1616.

granted to Walter Raleigh Esquire, touching the discovery and inhabiting of certain foreign lands and countries." It recites the queen's desire for the spread of true religion and the increase of traffic in England, etc.[1] (Ralegh's name is spelled in six different ways in the draft and proviso.)

April 9, 1585, "Sr Walter Rawle's" fleet of seven vessels sailed from Plymouth under the letters-patent of Elizabeth, Queen of England, to take possession of a land claimed by Spain under the Bulls of the Popes of Rome. The fleet was commanded by Sir Richard Greenville, and among the other officers were Thomas Cavendish, M. John Arundell, Mr. Raymund, Mr. Stukely, Mr. Bremige, Mr. Vincent, Simon Ferdinando, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Russell, Edward Gorges, Francis Brooke, Captain John Clarke, and others. Captain Ralph Lane, Philip Amidas, John White, Thomas Hariot, Edward Stafford, and about 103 others "were by agreement to remain in the colony one whole year at least."[2] They reached the present coast of North Carolina in June. The history of this expedition is well known. Greenville on his return voyage, after some fighting, captured a Spanish ship; he reached England about October 29, 1585.

June 20, 1585, Bernard Drake was commissioned to proceed to Newfoundland to warn the English fishing there of the troubles with Spain, etc.[3]

Sainte-Aldegonde's "pithie and most earneste exhortation to all Christian Kinges, Princes and Potentates to beware of Kinge Phillip's ambitious growinge," was printed in England prior to August, 1584,[4] and was probably received there with the respect due to the works of this celebrated man and reformer. In the summer of 1584 Sir Philip Sidney began to take an earnest interest in the American

[1] MSS. House of Lords. See *Third Report Royal Com. on Hist. MS.*, Appendix, p. 5.

[2] See the suggestion of the Merchant Adventurers to Carlile under April, 1582.

[3] *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1581–1590, p. 246.

[4] See Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting*, 1584. Maine Hist. Soc., 1877.

enterprises.[1] He was interested in Ralegh's voyage, but late in 1584 he projected an expedition on a much grander scale which was to be under the command of Sir Francis Drake and himself, assisted by the ablest officers of those martial times. "This scheme," says Fulke Greville, "was the exactest model Europe ever saw; a conquest not to be enterprised but by Sir Philip's reaching spirit that grasped all circumstances and interests." The idea was to check the dangerous power of Spain and Rome by attacking the Spaniards in America; by subverting their government there and laying in its place an English Protestant settlement upon such a plan as it might become a durable establishment, and by degrees increase till it extended its power from ocean to ocean.[2]

April 7, 1585, Hakluyt wrote from Paris to Walsingham a long letter, largely devoted to the war then waging in the low countries between Romanism and Protestantism; a struggle which was continually shaping the destinies of the New World. In this letter Hakluyt also wrote: "The rumor of Sir Walter Rawle's fleet, and especially the preparation of Sir Francis Drake, doth so much vex the Spaniard and his fautors as nothing can do more."

April 25, Queen Elizabeth was again excommunicated by Bull of Pius V. In July Elizabeth accepted the protectorate of the Netherlands; virtually accepting war with Spain. And Philip II. laid an embargo on all the vessels, men, and merchandise of England in the ports of Spain; virtually declaring war with England. The fleet of Sidney and Drake was now ready to sail for the attack on the Spanish settlements in America, and to begin "the scheme in which Sir Philip had embarked a great part of his own fortune;" but Elizabeth would not allow Sidney to go. She ordered him to the Netherlands, and therefore his idea was not fully carried out.

August 6, 1585, Henry Talbot wrote to the Earl of

[1] One of the first letters from Virginia, August 12, 1585, was written by Layne to him.

[2] See *Life and Times of Sir Philip Sidney*, by S. M. D. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859, pp. 244, 245.

Shrewsbury: "Here are no speeches but of going either into Flanders, or else with Sir Francis Drake."[1] The departure of the fleet was delayed from early in July to the middle of September (12 or 14) when it sailed under the command of Sir Francis Drake. It consisted of "five and twenty saile and 2,300 souldiers and sailers." The officers, who had been carefully selected for this very important enterprise by Sidney and Drake, were Lieutenant-General, Christopher Carlile; Sergeant-Major, Anthony Powell; Captains Matthew Morgan, John Samson, Anthony Plat, Edward Winter, John Goring, Robert Pen, George Barton, John Merchant, William Cecil, Walter Biggs, John Haman, and Richard Stanton; Lieutenants Thomas Gates, Thomas Tucker, Alexander Starkey, —— Crofts, —— Escot, and —— Waterhouse and others, land officers. The naval officers were Admiral, Sir Francis Drake; Vice-Admiral, Captain Martin Frobisher; Rear-Admiral, Captain Francis Knollys; Captains, Thomas Vennor, Edward Winter, Christopher Carlile (who also commanded the land forces), Henry White, Thomas Drake, Thomas Seely, —— Bayly, Robert Crosse, George Fortescue, Edward Careless *alias* Wright, James Erizo, Thomas Moone, John Rivers, John Vaughan, John Varney, John Martin, Richard Gilman, Richard Hawkins, —— Bitfield, and Edward Greenefield; Masters, Abraham Kendall, Grifeth Herne, George Candish, Nicholas Winter, Alexander Carleill, Robert Alexander, James Dyer, Peter Duke, —— Scroope, and others.

I can only follow this voyage very briefly. Returning from the siege of Carthagena in May, 1586, they took St. Augustine in Florida from the Spaniards, pillaged and then burnt the town. June 8 they arrived off the English settlement at "Roanoak," and on the 19th "all hands sett saile" for England, and on the 22d or 27th of July, 1586, they arrived at Portsmouth, bringing the English colonists who had spent one year in North Carolina, with the description and maps of the country, drawings of the

[1] *Illus. of Brit. History*, Lodge, vol. ii. p. 268.

inhabitants, etc. Drake also brought some prisoners from Florida, among whom were Pedro Morales, a Spaniard, and Nicolas de Burgoyne, a Frenchman, said to have been spared in the massacre of 1565. These two men had been long in this country, and gave the English wonderful accounts (which are published in Hakluyt) of the regions to the northwest of St. Helena, of the vast mineral treasures of the Appalachian Range. The accounts of the Huguenots who reached England from Coligny's and Ribault's colonies in 1563, 1565, and 1586, of the Florida and Carolina country were very instrumental in planting in the English mind a desire to settle that country.

While the preparation for Francis Drake's voyage was under way in June, 1585, the envoys for the United States arrived in London, and in July, as I have said, "Elizabeth accepted the protectorate of the Netherlands." About two weeks after Drake sailed "the queen caused a declaration to be published, setting forth the reasons which had induced her to give aid to the afflicted and oppressed people of the Low Countries. It was dated at Richmond on October 1, 1585." Markham, in "The Fighting Veres," says: "It is one of the noblest state papers that was ever written, and it placed the English nation in a most honorable position before the world. It is not unworthy to take a place beside the Declaration of American Independence." Many of those who learnt their lesson under the influence of the sentiments expressed in this document were afterwards very instrumental in establishing English Protestant colonies in America.

"April 16, 1586. Sir Richard Greynville sailed over the barr at Barnstaple with his flee boat and frigot; but for want of sufficient water on the barr, being neare upon neape, he left his ship. This Sir Richard Greynville intended his goinge to Wyngandecora where he was last year."[1] A "bark of Aviso" was sent to Virginia soon after Easter, but Greenville himself was detained by the

[1] Chanter's *Literary History of Barnstaple.* Barnstaple, 1866.

tides until late in the spring, when he sailed with three vessels for the relief of the colony. The bark arrived at Roanoke in July, but finding no one returned to England. Sir Richard arrived in August, and being unwilling to lose the possession of the country, left fifteen men on Roanoke Island well furnished for two years and departed again for England. "By the way making spoyle of the townes of the Azores and there taking divers Spaniards." [1]

June 26, 1586. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, began his celebrated naval raids on the commerce of Spain on the Atlantic Ocean.

July 21, 1586. Captain Thomas Cavendish sailed on his voyage around the world under the patronage of Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon. The real object of this voyage was to raid upon Spain's commerce on the Pacific, the great South Sea.

December 30, 1586. Hakluyt wrote from Paris to Ralegh a very interesting letter in which he says: "If you proceed, which I long much to know, in your enterprize of Virginia, your best planting will be about the Bay of the Thestepians [Chestepians or Chesapeake], to which latitude Peter Martyr and Franciscus Lopez de Gomara, the Spaniard, confess that one Gabot (Cabot) and the English did first discover; which the Spaniards hereafter cannot deny us, whensoever we shall be at peace with them." [2]

England was now at open war with Spain, and her shipping could now be attacked without such subterfuges as patents for discovery. January 7, 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh by an indenture granted to John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thomas Steevens, William Fulwood, Roger Pratt, Dionise Harvie, John Nichols (Nicholas), George Howe, James Platt, and Simon Ferdinando of London, gentlemen, certain privileges for planting a colony in Virginia. May 18, Governor John White with three vessels sailed from Plym-

[1] Purchas, iv. p. 1645.

[2] *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii. App. p. 1. Oxford, 1872.

outh taking with him 150 householders to plant the city of Ralegh on Chesapeake Bay, according to the advice of Hakluyt, Lane and others. July 22, they landed at Hatarask for the purpose of taking off the men left there by Greenville the year before. They did not find them, and they finally determined to remain at Roanoke, although the experience of Lane and Drake had condemned this stormbeaten, harborless coast as altogether unsuitable for the purpose in view, and although the expedition was intended for the Chesapeake Bay. "August 18, Elyoner Dare, wife of Ananias Dare and daughter of Governor White, gave birth to a daughter and the child was named Virginia."

"August 27, 1587. Governor White sailed to England for supplies." The fate of those left at Roanoke is a blank page in our history which appeals to our hearts more eloquently than words. White reached Southampton on the 8th of November and found all England actively preparing to meet the threatened Spanish invasion.

April 25, 1588. "Notwithstanding the prospect of a Spanish invasion White, with two small vessels, sailed from Bideford to supply the colony in Virginia; but these vessels, undertaking to take Spanish prizes, were forced to return to England in May and June without performing the intended voyage."

The Popes of Rome had never acknowledged Elizabeth as the Queen of England, and Sixtus V. had made over England to Philip II. of Spain, as the rightful heir to his deceased wife, Mary of England. For several years that king had been preparing to take possession of his English dominions, and in May, 1588, his preparations were completed. Sixtus V. laid an interdict on England and excommunicated Queen Elizabeth. John Aylmer, Bishop of London, replied by excommunicating the Pope.

May 29, the invincible Armada sailed from Lisbon under the blessing of the Cardinal Archduke Albert.

July 29 to August 7. The invincible Armada was

defeated. Among the officers of the English fleet were many who were afterwards interested in the Virginia enterprises of 1606–1616.

March 7, 1589. "An indenture made between Sir Walter Ralegh, Chief Governor of Virginia on the one part, and Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetwood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Hackluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, merchants of London and adventurers to Virginia; John White, Roger Bayly, Ananias Dare, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thomas Steevens, Roger Pratt, Dionise Harvie, John Nichols, Humfrey Dimmocke, late of London, gentlemen of the other part, witnesseth." Ralegh transferred the colony of Virginia and the planting thereof in his domain to these men; he gave them £100 towards the planting of the Christian religion there; bound himself, "as much as in him lieth, to procure and indevor to obtaine the Queen's letters patent for ratification, approbation and more sure confirmation of the items in this indenture," and reserved to himself and his heirs or assigns only the fifth part of all gold and silver ore. I suppose Governor White had gotten these merchants of London to aid him in his effort to relieve the colony in Virginia; whether the indenture was ratified by the queen or not I do not know. Evidently it was a very bad time to attempt an English colony in Virginia. The Atlantic Ocean was swarming with vessels of war. It is remarkable to read of the success of English sailors, under the inspiration of the defeat of the Armada, and of the fatality which attended the shipping of Spain during the years 1588, 1589, 1590, and 1591. Probably more than 800 Spanish ships were destroyed during those years by the elements and the English. The Atlantic was a battlefield, and the coast of old Virginia was strewn with wreckage.

Thus the supplying of the city of Ralegh was hindered

WILLIAM ALEXANDER

First Earl of Stirling

until March 20, 1591, when three ships and two shallops furnished at the special charges of Mr. John Watts and others sailed from Plymouth to relieve the colonists and "to make spoil of the Spaniards." Governor John White sailed in this fleet and, August 15, they came to anchor at Hatarask. "Some tracts of feeting they found upon a sandy bank, and on a tree, curiously carved, these Romaine letters, C. R. O., which gave them hope they might be removed to Croatan." [1] Not a living soul was seen, and the vessels, "having made some spoil of the Spaniard," returned to England, arriving there in the fall of 1591, and on the 16th of October Ralegh wrote to Cecil "on the value of the prizes captured by these ships, and on the partition of the profits." [2] [This voyage has been incorrectly placed in 1589 and 1590.]

In or about 1590 Elizabeth granted a commission to Richard Greyneville of Stow, Piers Edgecombe, Thomas Digges and others for discovering lands in the Antarctic seas, to the Dominions of the great Cam of Cathaia.[3]

August 26, 1591, Captain Thomas Cavendish sailed from England "on his last fatal voyage." Dr. Thomas Lodge was on one of the vessels and while at sea wrote his "A Margarite of America."

September 14, 1591, Mr. Thomas James of Bristol wrote to Cecil concerning "the discoverie of the isle of Ramea."

1592. January 25, Captain Christopher Newport sailed from England with three ships and a pinnasse for the West Indies, where "he took and spoyled Yaguana and Ocoa in Hispaniola and Truxillo, besides other prizes." [4]

Early in this year a strong expedition was organized for a privateering cruise against the vessels of New Spain, combined with a plan for an attack on the Spanish settlements at Panama; the nearest way to the South Sea and the

[1] Strachey's *History of Travaile into Va. Brita.*, p. 152. Hakluyt Soc. Vol. 1849.

[2] *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, by Edwards, vol. ii. p. 43. London, 1868.

[3] *Cal. State Papers, Domestic.*

[4] Purchas, iv. p. 1186.

key to the possessions of Spain in America. The Adventurers provided thirteen vessels well equipped, and the queen two ships of war. Sir Walter Raleigh was to have the command of the expedition as admiral; Sir John Borough vice-admiral, and Sir Martin Frobisher next in command. They were ready to sail in February, but were detained by the winds for at least three months, and when they finally sailed Raleigh was followed by peremptory orders from the queen that he should instantly resign and return forthwith to the court. Before returning Raleigh relinquished the proposed attempt on Panama, and divided the fleet into two separate commands. One under Sir John Borough was sent to the Azores to waylay the plate-ships from the West Indies. The other, under the command of Frobisher, was sent to the coast of Spain to hold the Spanish convoy fleet on their own coast.

July 28, Sir John Borough, being then near the Azores, entered into an agreement with Captain Newport "to be partakers in lawfull pryses," and on the 3d of August their vessels, together with the vessels of the Earl of Cumberland, captured the Great Carrack, the Madre de Dios, and Captain Newport was placed in her as captain and carried her to Dartmouth, where he arrived September 7, 1592. Edwards, in his "Life of Raleigh," says: "The capture of the Great Carrack of 1592, and the proceedings which ensued in relation to the partition of her spoils, have an interest which extends far beyond the mere occurrence itself. It was in one sense the most brilliant feat of privateering ever accomplished by Englishmen, even in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It was also a piece of mercantile enterprise, — pregnant with results, — and the history of which throws light, alike on some curious points connected both with our admiralty law and with the growth of our commerce and colonies."

In 1592 Captain James Lancaster, returning in his ship from the East Indies, was wrecked on Mona, a small Island in the West Indies.

1593. The voyage of Mr. George Drake of Apsham (Topsham, the Port of Exeter) to Ramea in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

"The voyage of Richard Strong of Apsham . . . unto Cape Breton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half in 1593."

1593. Captain George Weymouth sent out with two ships by the merchants of the Russia and Levant companies to discover a northwest passage. This year the Earl of Cumberland sent three of his ships on a cruise to the West Indies. There were as many as seventeen English vessels at one time before Havana (Cuba) "wayting for purchase."

December 17. Henry May, one of Captain Lancaster's men, was wrecked on the Bermudas.

1594. Mr. Silvester Wyet's voyage to Ramea. Captain Jacob Whiddon and Captain Parker sent by Raleigh on an exploring voyage to Guiana, South America.

November 6, 1594, to late in May, 1595. Sir Robert Dudley's voyage to Guiana and the West Indies, with Captain Benjamin Wood, Captain George Popham, Master Abraham Kendall, and others. They returned by the Bermudas. Captain George Popham captured from a Spanish vessel at sea letters concerning Guiana which he gave to Raleigh.

1595. "Some to the wars, to try their fortune there,
Some to discover islands far away."

TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA, act i. sc. 3.

February 6, Ralegh sailed from England on his famous voyage for Guiana, South America.

August 27, 1595, to April, 1596. The fatal voyage of Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Thomas Baskerville, Captain Arthur Chichester, and others, with twenty-seven ships and barks containing 2,500 men and boys, intended for some special service in the West Indies.

1596, January to June. Captain Laurence Keymis' voyage to Guiana for Ralegh.

March to September. The victorious voyage of Captain Amias Preston and Captain George Somers to the West Indies.

April 23, 1596, to June, 1597. Sir Anthony Sherley's voyage with nine ships and a galley to the West Indies, the Bay of Honduras, and homeward by Newfoundland.

—— 1596, to July, 1597. "Captain Parker's voyage to the West Indies, with his taking of Campeche, the chief town of Yucatan."

June to August. The expedition against Cadiz. At least fifteen of the knights made by Essex at Cadiz were afterwards interested in the Virginia enterprise.

December 27, 1596, to June 28, 1597. Ralegh sends another expedition to Guiana.

1597. M. Charles Leigh's voyage to Cape Breton and to Ramea in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

August 17. The celebrated voyage to the Azores under the command of the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard, and Ralegh, with Sir William Monson, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and many others who were afterwards interested in the colonies in Virginia.

1598, March 6 to October. The twelfth voyage of the Earl of Cumberland. To the Azores and the West Indies in nineteen ships with a large force. Returning, one of the vessels was cast away in a storm at the Bermudas. In November Ralegh was preparing to send another expedition to Guiana under Sir John Gilbert. The Rev. Richard Hakluyt began the publication of "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Overland, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Anytime within the Compasse of these 1600 yeres."

Of those who were interested in publishing books, tracts, and broadsides regarding naval affairs, discovery, commerce, and colonization, in the reign of Elizabeth, 1558 to 1603, I have listed 105 authors, fifty-eight printers and booksellers, and thirty-nine patrons to whom dedicated.

I have been obliged to omit these publications from this sketch; but the reader will find most of them mentioned in "The Narrative and Critical History of America."

1599, September 22. Over £30,000 was ventured in a proposed voyage to the East Indies by a company of Englishmen, about sixty of whom were afterwards interested in the Virginia companies. A second invasion of England was threatened by Spain.

1600. "England employed annually two hundred vessels and 10,000 men and boys in the Newfoundland fisheries."[1]

"A very considerable business was now transacted on the present New England coast, connected with the fisheries and the fur trade, which centred chiefly at Monhegan and Pemaquid. At both places a considerable and busy population was found in the summer season and very possibly some remained through the winter."[2]

Of course these fishing and trading voyagers were constantly gaining information regarding our northern coasts and reporting to their employers; but of these reports we know almost nothing. In fact we know but little regarding the results of the voyages sent out especially for discovery. It seems evident that full reports were made to the employers, but the published reports given to the public were generally written by those in subordinate positions, and are very meagre and unsatisfactory.

December 31, the great East India Company was first chartered. The first governor, Sir Thomas Smythe, and about one hundred of the first members were afterwards interested in the Virginia companies.

1601, February 8. The rising of the Earl of Essex.

Several voyages to the West Indies, including the voyage of Captain William Parker, Captain Ashley, and others, to the taking of Saint Vincent and Puerto Bello.

It must be borne in mind that for nearly twenty years,

[1] Sabine's *American Fisheries*, p. 40. [2] Johnston's *History of Bristol and Bremen*, p. 47.

with the West Indies as the centre of attraction, the Atlantic was the great battle-ground of England and Spain. English sailors sailed on it, fought over it, and were well acquainted with it.

1602. Sir Walter Raleigh sent Samuel Mace of Weymouth on a voyage to Virginia.

March 26 to July 23, the voyage of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, Captain Gabriel Archer, with John Brereton, James Rosier, Robert Salterne, William Street, John Angell, John Tucker, and twenty-three others, to our New England coast. They were set forth by Henry, Earl of Southampton, Lord Cobham, and others.

May 2 to September, the voyage of Captain George Weymouth to discover the Northwest Passage, set forth by the merchants of London.

Nova Scotia (Mawooshen) began to be visited regularly by the English traders. English commissioners at Bremen engaged in making a treaty with Denmark concerning commerce and fishing.

1603. The voyage of Captain Martin Pring, set forth by Master John Whitson, Master Robert Aldworth, and other of the chiefest merchants of Bristol, sailed from King-rode March 20 and reached Milford Haven about the 27th, where they heard of Queen Elizabeth's death.

Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond March 24, and on the same day James VI. of Scotland was proclaimed king of England as James I.

April 10, Pring continued his voyage from Milford Haven to our New England coast, and returning entered King-rode October 2. April to September 10, the voyage to Cherry Island, set forth by Alderman Francis Cherry.

May 7, James I. entered London and was crowned at Westminster July 25.

May 10 to September, the voyage of Captain Bartholomew Gilbert to the Chesepian Bay in the country of Virginia. July 29, Captain Gilbert, Master Thomas Canner, a

gentleman of Bernard's Inn, Richard Harrison, the master's mate, Henry Kenton, the chirurgion, and one Derricke, a Dutchman, went on shore [probably the eastern shore of Virginia] and were all killed there by the Indians. Therefore the master, Henry Suite, took his course home for England.

1604, January. The celebrated Hampton Court conference. March 21, Captain Charles Lee sailed for Guiana. In the spring the Gunpowder Plot was organizing. June 25, license to Sir Edward Michelborne to make a voyage to China, Japan, etc. August 18, ratification by James I. of a treaty of peace and mercantile intercourse with Philip III., King of Spain, and Allbert and Isabel, archduke and archduchess of Burgundy. In the fall the Phœnix again left England for Lee's colony in Guiana.

1605, March 31 to July 18, the voyage of Captain George Weymouth, set forth by the Earl of Southampton, Lord Thomas Arundell, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, with John Stoneman, James Rosier, Master Thomas Cam, and twenty five others, some of whom had been with Ralegh in Guiana. They remained a month on our New England coast.

April 14, Sir Olive Lee sent a vessel to the relief of his brother in Guiana. During the summer the Phœnix returned to England from Guiana. Champlaine entered the present harbor of Plymouth, New England. Hakluyt received a letter written at Valladolid by Luis Tribaldo, of Toledo, "touching Juan de Onate, his Discoveries in New Mexico, five hundred leagues to the North of Old Mexico." Captain Newport brought two young crocodiles and a wild boar from Hispaniola, West Indies, and they were presented alive to King James.[1] Captain George Weymouth returned as aforesaid (July 18), bringing five native Indians with him, which "accident," says Gorges, "must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to our plantations," and on June 15 the treaty

[1] How's Stow, ed. 1615, p. 871.

of peace between Spain and England was signed and ratified by Philip III. Which peace was "the means under God" of making possible the settlement of English colonies, across the Atlantic battle-ground, in the far distant land of Virginia.

PERIOD I.

FROM THE RETURN OF WEYMOUTH IN JULY, 1605, TO THE RETURN OF NEWPORT IN JANUARY, 1609.

This was the experimental period, in which a trial was made both in North Virginia and in South Virginia; as a result of these experiments it was thought best to make a concentrated effort to secure a footing in America in the milder climate of South Virginia, and in the remarkably strong and strategical position afforded for the purpose by the James River.

I. "EASTWARD HOE."

The stage is apt to illustrate the popular tastes of the time; comedy generally caters to those who laugh at objects of popular interest.

The following extracts from "Eastward Hoe," a comedy, will serve as a prelude to this work. The play was written by George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, and was entered for publication at Stationers' Hall by William Aspley on the 4th of September, 1605.

ACT II. SCENE 1. *Quicksilver.* . . . Well, dad, let him [Sir Petronell Flash] have money; all he could anyway get is bestowed on a ship, nowe bound for Virginia; the frame of which voyage is so closely convaide that his new lady nor any of her friends know it. Notwithstanding, as soone as his ladies hand is gotten to the sale of her inheritance, and you have furnisht him with money, he wil instantly hoyst saile and away.

Security. Now, a franck gale of wind go with him, Maister Franck! we have too fewe such knight adventurers. Who would not sell away competent certenties to purchase (with any danger) excellent uncertenties? Your true knight venturer ever does it. Let his wife seale to-day, he shall have his money to-day. . . .

ACT III. *Enter a Messenger.*

Messenger. Sir Petronel, here are three or fowre gentlemen desire to speake with you.

Petronel. What are they?

Quicksilver. They are your followers in this voyage, knight Captaine Seagul and his associates; I met them this morning, and told them you would be here.

Pet. Let them enter, I pray you; I know they long to be gone, for their stay is dangerous.

Enter Seagul, Scapethrift, and Spendall.

Seagul. God save my honorable Collonell!

Petronel. Welcome, good Captaine Seagul, and worthy gentlemen; if you will meete my friend Franck here, and mee, at the Blewe Anchor Taverne by Billingsgate this evening, wee will there drinke to our happy voyage, be merry, and take boate to our ship with all expedition.

. . . . . .

ACT III., SCENE 2. *Enter Seagull, Spendall, and Scapethrift in the Blewe Anchor Taverne, with a Drawer.*

Seagull. Come, drawer, pierce your neatest hogsheads, and lets have cheare — not fit for your Billingsgate taverne, but for our *Virginian Colonel;* he will be here instantly.

Drawer. You shal have al things fit, sir; please you have any more wine?

Spendal. More wine, slave! whether we drinke it or no, spill it, and draw more.

Scapethrift. Fill all the pottes in your house with al sorts of licour, and let 'hem waite on us here like souldiers in their pewter coates; and though we doe not emploie them now, yet we will maintaine 'hem till we doe.

Drawer. Said like an honorable captaine; you shal have al you can commaund, sir. [*Exit Drawer.*

Seagull. Come, boyes, Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maiden-head.

Spendall. Why, is she inhabited alreadie with any English?

Seagull. A whole countrie of English is there, man, bread of those that were left there in '79; they have married with the Indians, and make 'hem bring forth as beautifull faces as any we have in England; and therefore the Indians are so in love with 'hem, that all the treasure they have they lay at their feete.

Scapethrift. But is there such treasure there, Captaine, as I have heard?

Seagull. I tell thee, golde is more plentifull there then copper is with

THOMAS ARUNDELL

First Baron Arundell

us;[1] and for as much redde copper as I can bring Ile have thrise the waight in gold. Why, man, all their dripping-pans and their chamber-potts are pure gould; and all the chaines with which they chaine up their streets are massie gold; all the prisoners they take are fetered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds they goe forth on holydayes and gather 'hem by the sea-shore to hang on their childrens coates, and sticke in their children's caps, as commonly as our children weare saffron-gilt-brooches and groates with hoales in 'hem.

Scapethrift. And is it a pleasant countrie withall?

Seagull. As ever the sunne shind on: temperate and ful of all sorts of excellent viands; wilde bore is as common there as our tamest bacon is here; venison as mutton. And then you shall live freely there, without sargeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers [; only a few industrious Scots perhaps, who are indeed dispersed over the face of the whole earth. But as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishman and England, when they are out on 't, in the World, than they are: and for my part, I would a hundred thousand of them were there, for we are all one countrymen now, ye know, and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than here].[2] Then for your meanes to advancement, there it is simple, and not preposterously mixt. You may bee an alderman there, and never be seavinger; you may be any other officer, and never be a slave. You may come to preferment enough, and never be a pandar: to riches and fortune enough, and have never the more villanie nor the lesse witte. Besides, there wee shall have no more law then conscience, and not too much of eyther; serve God enough, eate and drinke inough, and "enough is as good as a feast."

[1] "Sir Thomas More, in the second book of his *Utopia* preferreth iron before gold and silver." "And giveth us there also a plot to bring gold and silver into contempt: telling us how the Utopians imploy these mettals, in making of chamber pots, and vessels of more uncleane use; how they make fetters and chaines herewith to hold in their rebellious slaves and maelfactors; how they adorne their infants and little children with jewels and pretious stones, etc." — HEYLYN; but see *Utopia*.

[2] This comedy was popular at the time, and at least four editions were issued in 1605. In the first impression is this passage reflecting upon the Scots, for the publication of which the authors got into serious trouble, and in the later impressions these lines are omitted. The story is thus related in Ben Jonson's conversations with Drummond: "He was dilated by Sir James Murray to the King, for writing something against the Scots in a play Eastward Hoe, and voluntarily imprissonned himself with Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst them. The report was, that they should then have had their ears cut and noses. After their delivery, he banqueted all his friends; there was Camden, Selden, and others; at the midst of the feast his old mother dranke to him, and shew him a paper which she had (if the sentence had taken execution) to have mixed in the prisson among his drinke, which was full of lustie strong poison, and that she was no churle, she told, she minded first to have drunk of it herself."

Spendall. Gods me! and how farre is it thether?

Seagull. Some six weekes saile, no more, with any indifferent good winde. And if I get to any part of the coaste of Affrica, ile saile thether with any winde;[1] or When I come to Cape Finister, ther 's a fore-right winde[2] continuall wafts us till we come to Virginia. See, our collonell 's come.

Enter Sir Petronell Flash with his followers.

. . . . . .

Sir Petronell. . . . Wee 'll have our provided supper brought a bord Sir Francis Drake's ship,[3] that hath compast the world, where, with full cups and banquets, wee will doe sacrifice for a prosperous voyage.

The Virginian adventurers fall into the hands of the law, but finally everything ends happily and we

> "Behold the carefull father, thrifty sonne,
> The solemne deeds which each of us have done:
> The usurer punisht, and from fall to steepe
> The prodigall child reclaimed, and the lost sheepe!"

[MEM. — This comedy was played before King James January 25, 1614. Sir Petronell Flash, perhaps some time personated by the immortal Shakespeare, was one of the first of a long and illustrious line of "Virginian colonels."]

II. ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

Soon after the return of Weymouth (July 19, 1605) there were several plans set on foot by Englishmen for settling English colonies in America, and for making trading voyages to that country. The plan to form royal colonies there, by chartered companies under license from the crown, it seems, was largely under the management of Sir John Popham, the lord chief justice of England. But before the petitioners under this plan had received in answer to their petitions the royal charter asked for, by which the

[1] That is, would be carried by the ocean current.

[2] The trade-wind.

[3] For long years the Golden Hind was preserved in Deptford dockyard as a memorial of the first English voyage "'round about the world," the cabin being turned into a banqueting-house.

country between 34° and 45° north latitude was taken under the crown, and private enterprise for settlements, etc., thus shut out, other plans were well under way. Prior to October 30 Captain Weymouth had engaged himself to make "a marchante voyage to Virginia;" but he abandoned this voyage and entered into the following agreement for making a settlement there. The original is still preserved among the Kimbolton manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Manchester. It is No. 203 of the appendix (Part II.) to the eighth report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1881. Extracts from the documents are given in this appendix, and Mr. Neill refers to them in his "Virginia Vetusta" (1885), pp. 1, 2; but the whole document, I believe, has never been printed before.

"Articles of Agreement Indented made and agreed upon the thirtithe daie of October. In the yeeres of the Reigne of Our Sovereigne Lord James by the Grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland defender of the faith &c. That is to saie of England, France and Ireland the thirde and of Scotland the nyne and thirtith. Betweene the Right Worshipfull Sir John Zouche of Codnor in the County of Darbye Knight on the one parte, and Captayne George Waynmouth of Cockington in the County of Devon gent on the other parte. For and concerninge a voiage intended to be made unto the land commonly called by the name of Virginia uppon the Continent of America.

"*Firste* on the parte and behalfe of the said Sr John Zouche. It is covenated and agreed, That he shall at his owne proper costs and charges, sett forth two shipps fitted prepared and furnished with all necessaries of victuall, provision, munition, and two hundred able and sufficient men; that is to saie, of such trades and arts as are fittinge for a plantation and colonie, before the last daie of Aprill nexte cominge after the date hereof.

"*Item*. It is covenanted and agreed that he, the said Sir John, shall in present payment give and deliver unto the

said Captayne George Waymouth the somme of one hundred pounds of lawfull English money within twenty-one dayes next after the date of theis presents, in consideration of his travell and paynes to be taken in and about the saide voyage and for his owne charge defrayinge.

"*Item* that whereas the said Captayne George Waymouth hath hertofore ingaged himselfe by band and covenante, made betweene him and William Parker, Thomas Love, —— Came, and William Morgan of Plymouth, marchaunts to carry them with their shippinge and provision (accordinge to the Tenor of such Covenante of Agreemente as are made betweene him and them) to the said lande of Virginia, there to fishe, traffick and to doe what els shalbe fittinge for a Marchante voyage. He, the said Sr John Zouche, shall suffer and by all meanes permitt the said Marchaunts to make their trade for what commodities soever without anie hindrance or disturbance of his parte or any his followers under his Commaund for the space of one wholle yeere nowe next comminge, and not after.

"*Item*, it is covenanted and agreed that he, the said Sir John Zouche beinge Cheife Commaunder shall allowe and give unto the saide Captaine George Waymouth the nexte place of commaunde under himselfe as well at sea as at land.

"*Item*, if it soe please God to prosper and blisse the said intended voiage and the Actions of the same, that thereby the lande aforesaid shalbe inhabited with our English Nation, and accordinge to Polliticque estate of Government proportion of lande be allotted to such as shalbe transported thither to inhabitt. That then after the said Sr John Zouche shall have made his choise and assumed into his possession in manner of Inheritaunce such quantitie of Land as he the said Sr John shall thinck good. Then he the saide Captayne George Waymouth and his Assignes shall and maie make his or their next choise of lande for his or their possession and plantation. To holde the same in tenure of him the saide Sr John as Lorde Paramount. Which said lande soe by the said Captaine George Waymouth to

be chosen shall discend to his heires or Assignes, or shalbe uppon reasonable consideracons to his or their uses imployed or disposed.

"*And in like manner* on the behalfe of the said Captayne George Waymouth it is agreed that he shall with his best indeavoure councell and advise, be helpinge, aydinge and assistinge to the said Sr John for the furnishinge and settinge forth of the said voyage.

"*Item* that hee the said Captaine George Waymouth shalbe readye to goe with him the said Sr John in the said voiage at such tyme as is lymitted or before, if conveniency shall require and all things necessary fitted in readines, unlesse he shalbe by sickness or other such visitation hindred.

"*And* that when they shalbe arrived uppon the land aforesaid, he shall with his best arte furtheraunce and indeavour, be assistinge to the said Sir John for his plantation and fortification, and what els shalbe thought fittinge and necessary *by the said Sir John.*

"*And* that the said Captayne George Waymouth shall not be aydinge and assistinge by person or direction to any other in or for the said pretended lande or voiage without the Consent or allowance of the said Sir John.

"*In Witness* whereof the parties above named to theis present Articles Indented interchangeably have sett their hands and seales the daye and yeere first above wrytten.

"JOHN ZOUCHE.

"Memorandum. Theise words (*by the said Sir John*) were interlyned before the sealynge.

"Sealed and delivered in the presence of —

W. RIGGS.
JAM: ROSIER.
TIMO: SANGER.
ROB[T] HAS——."[1]

[1] The latter part of the name is illegible.

III. REASONS FOR RAISING A FUND.

The following paper is catalogued in the British Museum catalogue as: —

"Lansdowne MS. 160. Reasons for raising a fund for the support of a Colony at Virginia."

The title of the paper is: —

"Caesar Papers. Admiralty. Bibl. Lansdowne. 160. fol. 356."

The indorsement on the back of the document: —

"Reasons to move the High Court of Parlam^t^ to raise a stocke for the maintaining of a Collonie in Virginia and many other good uses in such manner that the payer shall gaine 2s. for every xii^d^ disbursed, with the good of the whole Kingdom and ten thousande poundes yearly brought to his Mat: receipts."

"The article itself and the endorsement are written throughout in the same hand; but about half an inch below the endorsement, and in quite a different handwriting, is the date, '5 January 1607.' This is the only date on the paper, and there is no means of ascertaining when or by whom that date was written, nor whether it is Old Style or New Style." E. Salmon. Brit. Mus., June 13, 1884. The paper was preserved by Sir Julius Cæsar, who sometimes indorsed the date on his undated papers. And Mr. Neill, who has published it in his "Virginia Vetusta" (1885), pp. 27–34, has accepted the date "5 January 1607" as Old Style, and as the correct date of the paper itself (*i. e.* 5 January, 1608); but to me the paper bears internal evidence of having been written before the charter of April, 1606, was granted, probably in the fall of 1605, or winter of 1605–1606. I am supported in this belief not only by the internal evidence of the paper itself, but also by the fact that there was no meeting of Parliament, on account of the plague in London, from 4th July, 1607, to 10th February, 16^{09}_{10}.

Having some reasons to think the paper was drawn up by Hakluyt, I queried the museum on the point and received the following in reply: "With the assistance of the officer in charge of the manuscripts at the museum I have compared the facsimile of the Rev. Richard Hakluyt's writing with that of Lansdowne MS. No. 160, folio 356 (Cæsar Papers), and can confidently say that the two are not identical, and the officer declares the latter to be written by a clerk." William Cabell. September 2, 1884.

"Reasons or motives for the raising of a publique stocke to be imploied for the peopling and discovering of such Countries as maye be fownde most convenient for the supplie of those defects which this Realme of Englande most requireth.

"1. All Kingdomes are maintained by Rents or Traficque, but especially by the latter, which in maritaine places most florisheth by meanes of Navigation.

"2. The Realme of Englande is an Islande impossible to be otherwise fortified then by stronge shippes and able mariners and is secluded from all corners with those of the maine continent, therefore fit abundance of vessells be prepared to exporte and importe merchandize.

"3. The furniture of shipping consist in Masts, Cordage, Pich, Tar, Rossen, that of which Englande is by nature unprovided and at this presente injoyeth them only by the favor of forraigne potency.

"4. The life of shipping resteth in number of able Mariners and worthy Chieftaines, which cannot be maintained without assurance of rewarde of honorable meanes to be imployed and sufficient seconde of their adventurs.

"5. Private purces are cowld compfortes to adventurers and have ever ben fownde fatall to all interprices hitherto undertaken by the English by reason of delaies, jeloces and unwillingnes to backe that project which succeeded not at the first attempt.

"6. The Example of Hollinders is verie pregnante by a

maine backe or stocke have effected marvelous matters in traficque and navigacon in fewe[1] years.

"7. It is honorable for a state rather to backe an exploite by a publique consent then by a private monopoly.

"8. Where Collonies are fownded for a publique-well[2] maye continewe in better obedience, and become more industrious, then where private men are absolute signors of a vioage, for-as-much as better men of haviour and qualitie will ingage themselves in a publique service, which carrieth more reputacon with it, then a private, which is for the most parte ignominious in the end, as being presumed to ayme at a lucre and is subject to emulacon, fraude and envie, and when it is at the greatest hight of fortune can hardly be tollerated by reason of the jelosie of state.

"9. The manifest decaye of shipping and mariners and of manie borrowe and porte townes and Havens cannot be releaved by private increase nor amended otherwise than by a voluntary consent of manie purces of the Well-publique.

"10. It is publicly knowne that trafique with our neighbor Countries begin to be of small request, the game seldom answering the merchantes adventure, and forraigne states either are already or at this presente are preparing to inrich themselves with woole and cloth of their owne which heertofore they borowed of us, which purpose of theirs being achieved in Fraunce and it hath been already in Spayne and Italy, therefore we must of necessity forgoe our greate showing if we doe not wish [to] prepare a place fit for the vent of our wares and so set our marriners on worke, who dayly run to serve forraigne nacons for wante of imployment and cannot be restrained by anie Lawe when necessatie inforseth them to serve and hire of a stranger rather than to serve at home.

[1] I obtained a copy of this paper in 1883 or 1884. In my copy this word was written "some." Mr. Neill's copy has the word "five." I queried the British Museum as to this difference, and the reply was that neither word was correct — the correct word was "fewe," and is "written very plainly in the MSS." The Hollanders' joint stock East India Company was formed March 2, 1602. See VI., note 3.

[2] Publique-well or Well-publique= public-weal.

"11. That Realme is most compleet and wealthie which either hath sufficient to serve itselfe or can finde the meanes to exporte of the naturall comodities then [if] it hath occason necessarily to importe, consequently it muste insue that by a publique consent, a Collony transported into a good and plentiful climate able to furnish our wantes, our monies and wares that nowe run into the handes of our adversaries or cowld frendes shall passe unto our frendes and naturall kinsmen and from them likewise we shall receive such things as shalbe most available to our necessaties, which intercourse of trade maye rather be called a home bread trafique than a forraigne exchange.

"12. Forraigne nacons yearly attempt discoveries in strange coaste moved thereunto by the polosy of state which affecteth that gaine most which is gotten either without anie [trick] of their neighbors, or at best by smalest advantage that maye turne unto them by their trafique.

"13. Experience teacheth us that it is dangerous to our state to interprice a discovery and not to procead therein even to the verie sifting it to the uttermost for not only disreputacon groweth thereby, disability and power weake to proceed or bewraiing our owne Idelnes and want of Counsell to mannage our enterprices, as if the glorious state of ours rather broched by the vertue of our Ancestery, then of our owne worthines.

"14. The want of our fresh and presente supplie of our discoveries[1] hath in manner taken awaye the title which the Lawe of nacons giveth us unto the Coast first fownde out by our industrie, forasmuch as whatsoever a man relinquiseth mayebe claymed by the next finder as his own property neither is it sufficient to set foot in a countrie but to possesse and howld it, in defence of an invading force (for wante whereof) the King of denmarke[2] intendeth into the

[1] It seems evident that the English colonies had not settled in America when this paper was written; after April, 1607, Virginia was never relinquished.

[2] There was a voyage from Denmark to the northwest in May – August, 1605; another in May – October, 1606; and a third at about the same time in 1607. This paper

northwest passage (as it is reported), and it is also reported that the French[1] intendeth to inhabit Virginia, which they may safely achieve if their second prove stronge and *there*[2] languishe [not] for want of sufficient and tymly supplie. which cannot be had but by the meanes of multitude contributory.

"The circumstances necessarily to backe a Collony sent owt are these: —

"1. Reputacon and opinion of the interprice.

"2. A competent some of monie raised aforehande to supplie all accidentes, that distrust heerby maye be wrought in forraigne States to attempt anie thing in prejudice of our Collonies, because they maye be well asured that where there is not a publique purse, and a comon consent to prosecute an accion it is but botlesse to hope of advantage to be gotten without revenge.

"3. As are most apt to make a conquest so are publique weales fitter to howld what is gotten and skilfuller by industrie to inrich it.

"4. It is probable that if the whole State be ingaged in theise adventures it will be no harde matter when aparant grownde of profit is laied to persuade every County according to the proportion of bignes and abilitie to builde barkes and shippes of a compotent size and to maintaine them, when gentlemen's yongest sons and other men of quality may be imployed.

"5. Also it importeth much that no man be suffered to venture more then he maye be deamed able to spare owt of his owne supfluity, or if he go in person, he would Idely spende at home, lest such men entring into a rage of

may have been written before the first voyage, as it speaks of an intended voyage and not one already made.

[1] November 8, 1603, Henry IV. of France granted to "Monsieur de Monts" a patent to "Inhabit Virginia;" that is, to settle a colony in America between 40° and 46° north latitude, and he was attempting to form a settlement in 1604 and in 1605, first at St. Croix and then at Port Royal.

[2] In some copies this word appears as "they," in others as "ours," but I am assured that "there" is the correct word.

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repentance, and thereby discorage others and scandilize the interprice.

"The monie to be raised to the use and purposes aforesaid: —

"1. Ought not to be levied of those things which maye hinder the Comonwealth to injoye the necessaries of victualle and aparroll, but shall rather advance them to the neady.

"2. It shall not be raised without moderacon and ease to the payer, neither shall anie thinge be demanded from anie man without presente assurance of gaine and hope of future profit.

"3. It shall not be raised upon the sweat of the poore, or industrie of the husbandman, Artificer, or tradisman.

"4. It is not to be levied to a private intent.

"But it is to be raised: —

"1. Upon the emoderate gaines of those that contrary to lawe abuse the poore; but in such sorte that the payer shall for every ij[d] paied gaine iiij[d].

"2. That they upon whom the maine chardge of payment shall lye maye be greater gainers than the merchant adventurer.

"3. That the whole state shalbe interested in the benefit of it.

"4. That the superflous waste maye be avoyded of which the poore most want.

"5. The merchandize increasing thereby, the Realme shalbe inriched yearly manie thousandes powndes, and the Kings imposte and Customes increased.

"6. That at the least CC thousande powndes yearly maye be saved in the Realme which nowe is consumed to the displeasure of God and hurte of the people.

"Also it is reason that the King's Majesty have as well parte of the monie so raised, either to adventure or otherwise dispose at his Highnes good pleasure: —

"1. In respect of his roiall assent to be given to an Act of Parliament enabling commissioners togather the monies aforesaid.

"2. Privileges and lysence to transporte a Collonie or Collonies are to be obtained at the Kings handes:[1] neither is it reason that his Highnes's prerogative showld be valued at no thinge.

"3. That the Kings Majestie will be engaged in honor the rather to asist and protect the project.

"4. It would savior too much of affectacon of a populor State to levie monies without imparting some convenient portion to his Majestie.

"5. That portion ought not to be so smale, that it showld seame to undervalue the King's greatnes and favour."

[Mem. — "The gunpowder plot" was revealed to Lord Monteagle by letter of October 26; but it was not made known to James I. until November the first. The plot was to have taken effect on the assembling of Parliament, November 5, 1605. The plans for colonization in America must have been greatly hindered or delayed by the excitement incident to the arrests, trials, and executions of the conspirators, most of whom were executed on the 30th and 31st of January, 1606; but one of them, a Jesuit, not until the 3d of May. Many thought that Spain was "behind the scene," and after the excitement had somewhat abated this plot probably gave additional impulse to the schemes for planting English colonies in the country claimed by Spain.]

[1] It is not safe to be too sure where no dates are given, but I believe the document to be a draft of some petition for obtaining "privileges and lysence to transporte a collonie or collonies" to America, written before the granting of the charter of April 10, 1606, which gave the said "privileges." It was written in the interest of a public company or companies, and against private enterprises. It may have been written by Sir John Popham in favor of the proposed Virginia companies and in opposition to the private enterprise of Zouche and Weymouth.

IV. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2585, FOLIO 21.

The Simancas papers were procured for me in Spain by the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., our late representative there. Many of them were originally written in cipher, in the strictest secrecy, nearly three hundred years ago, and relate to the foundation of our country. They are now made public for the first time; their historical value to us cannot be overestimated, and I hope the public will receive them with an appreciation commensurate with their value.

Charles Campbell, one of the best historians of Virginia, asserts that Spain made no claim to Virginia. "Had she set forth any title to Virginia," says Campbell, "Gondomar would not have failed to urge it, and James the First would have been probably ready to recognize it." Laboring under this impression, he built up his history; but as his basis was wrong, his structure is defective.

Spain has not been regarded as an important actor or factor in our foundation. Yet Spain was really the chief obstacle which had to be met and overcome. And our founders managed the affair with such diplomacy, they accomplished their object so quietly, that "the generality" in England and Virginia were probably never fully aware of the great and real danger which at first threatened the enterprise.

I am entirely indebted to Professor M. Schele De Vere of the University of Virginia for a translation of the old Spanish manuscript. The difficulties which he had to overcome are best described in his own words: —

"It is with considerable reluctance that I send you the translation of your Spanish MSS., for hardly ever have I done a work that has called for equally exceptional brain-work and at the same time given me less satisfaction. The Spanish is more than 270 years old, and none but a Span-

ish scholar can appreciate the changes which that language has undergone in those centuries. Then, there is no punctuation: no stop, no mark of interrogation, no sign to judge where a sentence begins or ends. Then, there are no accents in the whole MS., and accents are fully as important as letters in Spanish. Finally, the copyist was evidently not as careful as he might have been; some words are repeated, some manifestly omitted, and some are probably given wrong. I have to confess, moreover, that quite a number of words, perhaps a dozen, have escaped me entirely; and yet I have good works to consult. The Dictionary of the Academy, as well as recent ones, were consulted. . . . I am very much interested both in the MSS. and in your energy and enterprise. . . . With most cordial good wishes for the success of your most valuable undertaking I remain very truly yours,

"M. Schele De Vere."

In copying nearly 50,000 words of the old script of 280 years ago it would scarcely be possible for a copyist to prevent some errors from creeping in, yet, notwithstanding every trouble, I am sure that Professor Schele De Vere has given a translation which will enable us to understand the ideas the writers wished to convey.

These papers were written in the interest of Spain; they are unfriendly to the English; they must be read and weighed with these facts before us. Yet, notwithstanding their one-sided and unfriendly character, they must prove invaluable as a factor in enabling us to understand correctly the struggle for the possession of this country. They reveal to us for the first time in our history the real position occupied by Spain towards our early history. They show the system of Spanish espionage which obtained even in his majesty's council for Virginia, in the Virginia companies, and in the very colonies themselves. Spanish spies were everywhere. The great secrecy which evidently veiled the acts of the managers of these American enterprises for

years has always been, and is yet, a serious obstacle to the historian of our early period who wishes to obtain the real facts. These papers enable us to see how carefully — with what diplomacy — the managers were obliged to proceed, and how necessary it was for them to have honorable, reliable officers and agents, and to guard every act and all information with an oath-bound secrecy. No accurate account of the location of the colonies, or number of the colonists; no description of the country, its position, its rivers, ports, harbors, etc.; no map of the country could have been given to the public in print by any officer of the Virginia companies without his falsifying his solemn oath. All such data were closely kept by the managers of the companies, and no part of them could be honorably published "without the consent of his Majesties Privy Counsel or the Counsel of Virginia or the more part of them." Thus the wording and the information given in the few publications sanctioned by these councils are evidently very closely guarded; and, as the early records of the companies have never been used by an historian, these papers, written in the greatest secrecy, closely preserved for nearly three hundred years, now given to the public for the first time, will read like a revelation to many of us. It is peculiarly interesting that they should first reach the public through the press of a country whose beginning they placed in jeopardy.

Copy of an extract from a deciphered letter from Don Pedro de Zuñiga[1] to the King of Spain, dated London, March 16.[2] 1606, on the preparations then being made in England to go and send people to Virginia.

"SIRE, —

. . . . . .[3]

"They also propose to do another thing, which is to send

[1] The Spanish ambassador in England.

[2] It must be remembered that these Spanish dates are New Style. To obtain the corresponding Old Style English date, ten days must be subtracted, *i. e.*, the English date for this paper is March 6.

[3] The first part of this letter relates to England's favoritism for

500 or 600 men, private individuals of this kingdom to people Virginia in the Indies, close to Florida. They sent to that country some small number of men in years gone by, and having afterwards sent again, they found a part of them alive.

"They brought 14 or 15 months ago[1] about ten natives, that they might learn English, and they have kept some of them here [in London] and others in the country, teaching and training them to say how good that country is for people to go there and inhabit it. The chief leader in this business is the Justiciario [Chief Justice, Sir John Popham], who is a very great Puritan and exceedingly desirous, whatever sedition[2] may be spoken of, to say that he does it in order to drive out from here thieves and traitors to be drowned in the sea. I have not yet spoken to the king about this; I shall do so when I see in what way they will try to satisfy me in the council."

V. LETTERS-PATENT TO SIR THOMAS GATES AND OTHERS.

Under the management, it seems, of Sir John Popham, as I have said, "Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, clerk, Prebendary of Westmin-

"The Rebels" of "The United States of the Netherlands," then at war with Spain.

[1] This should be divided by two, *i. e.*, "7 or 8 months ago five natives." Of course, in reading these Spanish papers certain allowances must be made, among other reasons, on account of the evident ill-will towards the enterprise, as well as on account of the incorrect and misleading information on which they were sometimes based. "Greek met Greek" in the diplomatic field, — the favorite field of James I. And in this controversy he not only held his own, but secured to England a great country, claimed by Spain, without firing a gun. The Spanish ambassador, of course, endeavored to send his master, the King of Spain, only correct information; but as he had to obtain this underhand, it was of course not always accurate.

[2] It must be remembered that the translation of these papers is literal. In plain English, this passage evidently means that whenever Popham was told (by Zuñiga, I suppose) that the enterprise was seditious (in violation of the treaties), he was quick to reply that he undertook it only in order to drive out of England thieves, etc., to be drowned in the sea. But this was diplomacy. (See November 6, 1577.) The first charter reveals Popham's real purpose.

ster, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esquires, William Parker and George Popham, gentlemen, and divers others of his loving subjects were humble suitors to James I. to grant them his license to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of his people into that part of America commonly called Virginia."

I do not know when this petition was first presented to King James; but as it took some time for the patent, in answer to the petition (or petitions), to pass through the hands of the various officials, — the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, privy council, etc., — until, having complied with all the forms of the law, it finally came from under the grand seal a legal patent, it was probably before the proposed meeting of Parliament (November 5, 1605), before the Gunpowder Plot was known, and its course may, very possibly, have been interrupted by the events incidental to that affair.

But however doubtful the exact date of this petition may be, it is certain that as a result, "Yt well pleased his Maiestie to cause his Letters to be made Patents the tenth of Aprill 1606."

In 1623, among the charges against Sir Thomas Smythe was "that the Treasurer and Governor of the Company being in themselves distinct offices: Were made one by the King's letters Patents, which is supposed to be by Sir T. Smithes meanes." To this Smythe answered, "This is the Article of the letters Patents: 2 whereof were drawn by Sir Ed: Sandys himselfe." The two drawn by Sir Edwin, I am quite sure were the 2d and 3d. I am inclined to think that the first charter was drawn up by Sir John Popham.

The following are some of the contemporary references to this charter and to the motives which caused King James to grant it: —

1. By William Strachey, gent., in "The First decade of The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," written in 1612.

"Upon his [Weymouth's] returne, his goodly report joyning with Captain Gosnoll's, cawsed the business with so prosperous and faire starres to be accompanied, as it not only encouraged the said Earle [Southampton] (the foresaid Lord Arundell being by this time chaunged in his intendments this waye, and engaged so far to the Archduke, before returne of this ship, that he no more thought upon the accion), but likewise called forth many firme and harty lovers, and some likewise long affected thereunto, who by comyng, therefore, humble peticioners to his Majestie for the advancement of the same (as for the only enterprize reserved unto his daies that was yet left unaccomplisht; whereas God might be aboundantly made knowen; His name enlarged and honoured; a notable nation made fortunate; and ourselves famous), it well pleased his Majestie (whoe in all his practizes and consultations, hath ever sought God more than himself, and the advauncement of His glory, professing deadly enmity — noe prince soe much — with ignoraunce and errour), adding to her Christian prænomen, Virginia, the surname of Britannia, to cause his letters to be made patents, the tenth of Aprill, 1606."

2. By Captain John Smith, in "The Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia." Published at Oxford in 1612.

"Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold *the first mover* of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevaled with some gentlemen, as *Mr. Edward-Maria Wingfield, Captaine John Smith* and diverse others who depended a yeare upon his projects, but nothing could be effected, 'till by their great charge and industrie it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patents, gave commission for establishing Councels, to direct here, and to governe and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare;" etc.

3. Captain John Smith, in his General Historie of 1624, makes two alterations in the above (see lines in italics). In

place of "the first mover" he puts "one of the first movers," and then, placing his own name first, he inserts the name of "Mr. Robert Hunt;" thus, "Captaine John Smith, Mr. Edward-Maria Wingfield, Mr. Robert Hunt and diverse others."

4. "By his Maiesties Counseil for Virginia," in "A briefe declaration," etc., written in 1616.

"When first it pleased God to move his Maiesties minde, at the humble suit of Sundry his loving subjects, to yeild unto them his gracious Priviledge for the Virginia Plantation, it was a thing seeming strange and doubtfull in the eye of the World, that such and so few Under-takers should enterprise a charge of that waight, as rather bescemed a whole State and Commonwealth to take in hand."

5. By Edward Waterhouse, in "A Declaration of the state of the Colony in Virginia, &c., 1622."

"Since his Maiesties most happy coming to the Crowne, being an absolute King of three of the most populous Kingdomes (which Charles the Fift was wont to tearme *officina gentium*, the shop or forge of men), finding his subjects to multiply by the blessed peace they enjoy under his happy government, did out of his high wisedome and Princely care of the good of his subjects, grant a most gratious Patent to divers Honourable persons, and others of his loving subjects authorizing them thereby to goe on in the Plantation of this lawfull and rightfull Kingdome of Virginia."

6. "By the Ancient Planters nowe remaining alive in Virginia," in "A Breife Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia duringe the first Twelve Yeares." 1624.

"Wheras in the beginninge of Sir Thomas Smith's twelve yeares government, it was published in printe throughout the Kingdome of England that a Plantation should be settled in Virginia for the glorie of God in the propagation of the Gospell of Christ, the conversion of the Savages, to the honour of his Majesty, by the enlargeinge of his territories and future enrichinge of his Kingdome, for which respects

many noble and well minded persons were induced to adventure great sums of money to the advancement of soe pious and noble a worke."

7. By Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in "A Briefe Narration of the Originall undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the parts of America."

"This great monarch [James I.] gloriously ascending his throne [1603], being born to greatness above his ancestors, to whom all submitted as to another Soloman for wisdom and justice, as well as for that he brought with him another Crown. . . . With this Union there was also a general peace concluded between the State and the King of Spain, the then only enemy of our nation and religion, whereby our men of War by sea and land were left destitute of all hope of employment under their own Prince: and therefore there was liberty given to them (for preventing other evils) to be entertained as mercenaries under what prince or state they pleased [See III.]. . . . Some there were not liking to be servants to foreign states, thought it better became them to put in practice the reviving resolution of those free spirits, that rather chose to spend themselves in seeking a new world, than servilely to be hired but as slaughterers in the quarrels of strangers. This resolution being stronger than their meanes to put it into execution, they were forced to let it rest as a dream, 'till God should give the means to stir up the inclination of such a power able to bring it to life. And so it pleased our great God, that there happened to come into the harbor of Plymouth [July, 1605], where I then commanded, one Captain Weymouth, that had been employed by the Lord Arundell of Wardour for the discovery of the North-West passage; but falling short of his course, happened into a river on the coast of America, called Pemmaquid, from whence he brought five of the natives, three of whose names were Manida, Skettwarroes, and Tasquantum, whom I seized upon. They were all of one nation; but of several parts and several families. This accident must be acknowledged

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the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our Plantations. . . .

"His Lordship [Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice] failed not to interest many of the lords and others to be petitioners to his Majesty for his royal authority, for setting two Plantations upon the coasts of America, by the names of the First and Second Colony; the first to be undertaken by certain noblemen, Knights, gentlemen, and merchants in and about the city of London; the second by certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants in the Western parts."

8. By Arthur Wodenoth in "A Short Collection of the most Remarkable Passages from the originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company." London, 1651.

"The Continent of *Virginia* discovered in the time of Q. Elizabeth (who gave it that name) was in the beginning of K. *James* his reign much advanced in reputation, and the advantages promised thereby seemed then worthy the best consideration how to make it a Plantation for the *English*. Whereupon many worthy Patriots, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, merchants and others held consultation, which produced a large subscription of Adventurers of all qualities in severall proportions, to the value of £200,000, or thereabouts. By which time a Patent was procured with great priviledges and immunities for the Adventurers, as establishing and impowring a Councell of State, as well as a generall Company, Whereby the whole affairs of that Plantation should in *perpetuity bee governed*."

Wodenoth apparently refers to the first patent; but "for a fact" the above really refers chiefly to the second patent of May 23, 1609.

9. From "Virginia and Maryland." London, 1655.

"Divers preceding discoveries having confirmed an opinion that the country of Virginia was fit for Plantations; It pleased God to affect the mindes of very many worthily disposed Noblemen, gentlemen and others to conceive it as a matter of Great Religion and Honour to undertake the work of perfecting a Christian Plantation in those parts.

Whereupon King James was pleased to become the First Founder of this noble work."

Extracts from V. were published by Purchas in 1625. The whole was first published by Stith in 1747. I give the charters, articles, etc., although some of them have been previously printed several times, because they are very important papers. All of them have never been previously collected together, and several of them are only to be found in books now really out of print.

"Letters Patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers and others, for two several Colonies and Plantations, to be made in Virginia, and other parts and Territories of America. Dated April 10, 1606.[1]

Preamble.

"I. James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Whereas our loving and well-disposed subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hakluit, clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Esqrs., William Parker, and George Popham, gentlemen, and divers others of our loving subjects, have been humble suitors unto us, that we would vouch safe unto them our licence, to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of

[1] The two companies for planting colonies in South and North Virginia were both incorporated by this one charter.

The first colony was authorized to locate their plantation "in some fit and convenient place," between 34° and 41° north latitude, and when so located the charter granted them fifty miles north and fifty miles south of said location, as well as one hundred miles to sea and one hundred miles within land. And the second colony was authorized to locate their plantation between 38° and 45° north latitude, and were granted in like manner fifty miles north and fifty miles south of said location, etc. Provided, however, that they should not plant within one hundred miles of each other. This clause has frequently been the subject of remark; but as one colony was to extend fifty miles north of their first plantation, and the other fifty miles south of theirs, the clause was necessary to prevent a possible conflict of bounds between the two companies.

America, commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any christian prince or people, situate, lying, and being all along the sea coasts, between four and thirty degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctial line, and five and forty degrees of the same latitude, and in the main land between the same four and thirty and five and forty degrees, and the islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred miles of the coasts thereof.

"II. And to that end, and for the more speedy accomplishment of their said intended plantation and habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several colonies and companies; the one consisting of certain Knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers, of our city of London and elsewhere, which are and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their plantation and habitation in some fit and convenient place, between four and thirty and one and forty degrees of the said latitude, alongst the coasts of Virginia and coast of America aforesaid; and the other consisting of sundry Knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of our cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our town of Plimouth, and of other places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and habitation in some fit and convenient place, between eight and thirty degrees and five and forty degrees of the said latitude, all alongst the said coast of Virginia and America, as that coast lyeth. Preamble.

"III. We greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people, as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government; Do by these our letters pat- Preamble.

tents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended desires;

"IV. And do therefore, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, adventurers of and for our city of London, and all such others, as are, or shall be joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the first Colony; and they shall and may begin their said first plantation and habitation at any place upon the said coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty degrees of the said latitude; and that they shall have all the lands, woods, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, marshes, waters, fishings, commodities, and hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first seat of their plantation and habitation by the space of fifty miles of English statute measure, all along the said coast of Virginia and America, towards the west and south-west, as the coast lyeth, with all the islands within one hundred miles directly over against the same sea coast; and also all the lands, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, woods, waters, marshes, fishings, commodities, and hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said place of their first plantation and habitation for the space of fifty like English miles, all alongst the said coast of Virginia and America, towards the east and north-east, or towards the north, as the coast lyeth, together with all the islands within one hundred miles, directly over against the said sea coast, and also all the lands, woods, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, marshes, waters, fishings, commodities, and hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty miles every way on the sea coast, directly into the main land by the space of one hundred like English miles; and shall and may inhabit and fortify within any the same, for their better safeguard and defence, according to their best discretion and the discretion of the council of that colony; and that no other of our subjects

First Colony.

shall be permitted, or suffered to plant or inhabit behind, or on the backside of them, towards the main land, without the express licence or consent of the council of that colony, thereunto in writing first had and obtained.

"V. And we do likewise, for us, our heirs, and successors, by these presents, grant and agree, that the said Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the town of Plimouth in the county of Devon, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that colony, shall be called the second colony; and that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and seat of their first abode and habitation, at any place upon the said coast of Virginia and America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty degrees of the said latitude, and five and forty degrees of the same latitude; and that they shall have all the lands, &c. [as granted to the first colony. Sec. IV.].

Second colony.

"VI. Provided always, and our will and pleasure herein is, that the plantation and habitation of such of the said colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them, that first began to make their plantation as aforesaid.

Proviso.

"VII. And we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for us, our heirs, and successors, that each of the said colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all matters and causes, which shall arise, grow or happen, to or within the same several colonies, according to such laws, ordinances, and instructions as shall be in that behalf, given and signed with our hand or sign manuel, and pass under the privy seal of our realm of England; each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed and comprised in the same instructions; and shall have a several seal, for all matters that shall pass or concern the same several coun-

Each colony to have a council.

cils; each of which seals shall have the King's arms engraven on the one side thereof, and his portraiture on the other; and that the seal for the council of the said first colony shall have engraven round about, on the one side, these words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ;* on the other side this inscription round about; *Pro Concilio primæ Coloniæ Virginiæ.* And the seal for the council of the said second colony shall also have engraven, round about the one side thereof, the aforesaid words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ;* and on the other side; *Pro Concilio secundæ Coloniæ Virginiæ.*

Superior council in England; its number and seal.

"VIII. And that also there shall be a council established here in England, which shall, in like manner, consist of thirteen persons to be, for that purpose, appointed by us, our heirs, and successors, which shall be called our Council of Virginia; and shall, from time to time, have the superior managing and direction, only of and for all matters that shall or may concern the government, as well of the said several colonies,[1] as of and for any other part or place, within the aforesaid precincts of four and thirty and five and forty degrees, above-mentioned; which council shall, in like man-

[1] It must here be especially noted that under this charter the whole of North America between 34° and 45° north latitude, commonly called Virginia, was claimed by the king of England, and that the whole of this Virginia, including the said very limited grants to the two companies, was placed under the management of one and the same Royal Council of Virginia. About 2,000,000 square miles were claimed by the crown, of which only 20,000 square miles were granted to both companies.

This charter virtually attaches this portion of North America to the crown of Great Britain, placing it at once "next under the King," under the government of his Royal Council of Virginia. And while it virtually asserts that this part was then unpossessed by, or that England had more right to it than, any other Christian nation, it apparently concedes to Spain all the mainland south of 34°, and to France all north of 45° north latitude. See also LXXXIV. and CIV. In many respects it is a very important document; but as a charter for colonization it was mainly experimental, and as experience revealed its imperfections they were corrected by subsequent charters. It remained, however, the basis of England's claim to America between 34° and 45° north latitude.

ner, have a seal,[1] for matters concerning the council or colonies, with the like arms and portraiture, as aforesaid, with this inscription engraven round about on the one side; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ;* and round about the other side, *Pro Concilio suo Virginiæ.*

"IX. And moreover, we do grant and agree, for us, our heirs and successors, that the said several councils, of and for the said several colonies, shall and lawfully may, by virtue hereof, from time to time, without any interruption of us, our heirs or succes-

May search for and dig mines.

[1] The above cut represents both sides of the seal of "His Majesties Council of Virginia." The seals of the councils of the two colonies were exactly like the above, save that in the place of "*Pro consilio suo Virginiæ*," the first colony had "*Pro Consilio Primæ Coloniæ Virginæ*," and the second colony, "*Pro Consilio secundæ Coloniæ Virginiæ.*" Prior to November, 1619, the Virginia Company of London had adopted no special seal. In the dissensions of 1623, the fifth charge made against Sir Thomas Smythe was, "That there was no publique seale made for the company in Sir T. S. tyme: nor no divisions of land."

To which Sir Thomas Smythe answered: —

"There were many divisions of land made: but true it is the Colony was not so scattered as since.

"As for the seale that which was then used was the seale made for the Counsell of Virginia by his Majesties own appointment."

sors, give and take order, to dig, mine, and search for all manner of mines of gold, silver, and copper, as well within any part of their said several colonies, as of the said main lands on the backside of the same colonies; and to have and enjoy the gold, silver, and copper, to be gotten thereof, to the use and behoof of the same colonies, and the plantations thereof; yielding therefore, to us, our heirs and successors, the fifth part only of all the same gold and silver, and the fifteenth part of all the same copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other manner of profit or account, to be given or yielded to us, our heirs, or successors, for or in respect of the same.

"X. And they shall, or lawfully may, establish and cause to be made a coin, to pass current there between the people of those several colonies, for the more ease of traffick and bargaining between and amongst them and the natives there, of such metal, and in such manner and form, as the said several councils there shall limit and appoint.

May coin money.

"XI. And we do likewise, for us, our heirs, and successors, by these presents, give full power and authority to the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of them, and to the said several companies, plantations, and colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said voyage, and for and towards the said several plantations and colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said colonies and plantations, such and so many of our subjects, as shall willingly accompany them or any of them in the said voyages and plantations; with sufficient shipping, and furniture of armour, weapons, ordnance, powder, victual, and all other things, necessary for the said plantations, and for their use and defence there.

May invite and carry over adventurers.

"Provided always, That none of the said persons be such as shall hereafter be specially restrained by us, our heirs, or successors. Proviso.

"XII. Moreover, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant licence unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the said colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several defences, encounter, expulse, repel and resist, as well by sea as by land, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person and persons, as without the especial licence of the said several colonies and plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several precincts and limits of the said several colonies and plantations, or any of them, or that shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, the hurt, detriment, or annoyance of the said several colonies or plantations: May repel intruders.

"XIII. Giving and granting by these presents, unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and their associates of the said first colony, and unto the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their associates of the said second colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter power and authority to take and surprise by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every person and persons, with their ships, vessels, goods, and other furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any harbour or harbours, creek or creeks, or place, within the limits or precincts of the said several colonies and plantations, not being of the same colony, until such time, as they, being of any realms or dominions under our obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the hands of the Treasurer of that colony, within whose limits and precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every hundred, Duties payable by certain persons for trading to the colonies.

of anything, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; and being strangers, and not subjects under our obeyance, until they shall pay five upon every hundred, of such wares and merchandises, as they shall traffick, buy, or sell, within the precincts of the said several colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell as aforesaid; which sums of money, or benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the space of one and twenty years, next ensuing the date hereof, shall be wholly emploied to the use, benefit, and behoof of the said several plantations, where such traffick shall be made; and after the said one and twenty years ended, the same shall be taken to the use of us, our heirs, and successors, by such officers and ministers, as by us, our heirs, and successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

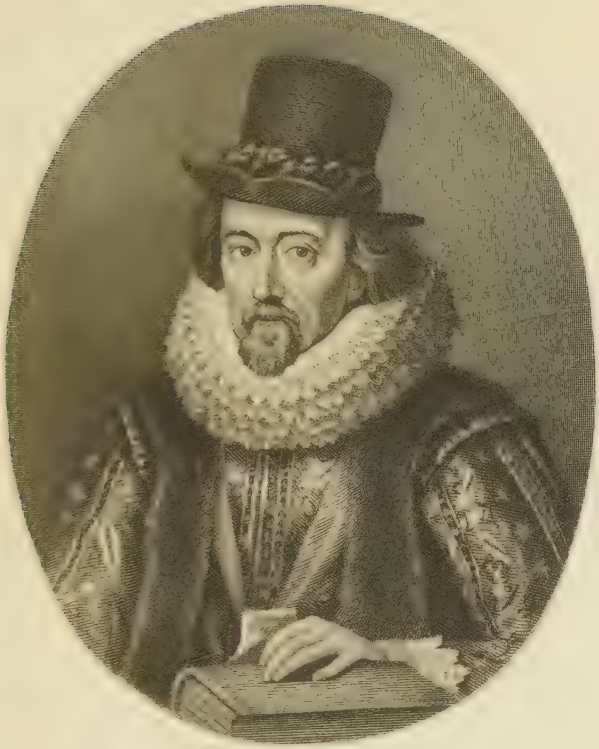
To the use of the colonies for 21 years; then to the king.

"XIV. And we do further, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and to their associates of the said first colony and plantation, and to the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their associates of the said second colony and plantation, that they, and every of them, by their deputies, ministers, and factors, may transport the goods, chattels, armour, munition, and furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said apparel, food, defence, or otherwise in respect of the said plantations, out of our realms of England and Ireland, and all other our dominions, from time to time, for and during the time of seven years, next ensuing the date hereof, for the better relief of the said several colonies and plantations, without any custom, subsidy, or other duty, unto us, our heirs, or successors, to be yielded or paid for the same.

Certain articles free of duty for seven years.

"XV. Also we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, declare, by these presents, that all and every the persons, being our subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said

Inhabitants and their children to have the privi-



FRANCIS BACON

First Viscount St. Albans

several colonies and plantations, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born within any of the limits and precincts of the said several colonies and plantations, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities, within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our realm of England, or any other of our said dominions.

leges of British subjects.

"XVI. Moreover, our gracious will and pleasure is, and we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, declare, and set forth, that if any person or persons, which shall be of any of the said colonies and plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said colonies and plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any wares, merchandises, or commodities, out of any our dominions, with a pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the limits and precincts of any the said colonies and plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said colonies and plantations, shall carry the same into any other foreign country, with a purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without the licence of us, our heirs, and successors, in that behalf first had and obtained; that then, all the goods and chattels of such person or persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said ship or vessel, wherein such transportation was made, shall be forfeited to us, our heirs, and successors.

Penalty for carrying goods, &c., destined for the colonies to any other places.

"XVII. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if any person or persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several colonies, and plantations, or any other, by his, their or any of their licence and appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by sea or by land, or do any act of unjust and unlawful hostility, to any the subjects of us, our heirs, or successors, or any the subjects of

Robberies, &c., to be punished.

any King, Prince, ruler, governor, or state, being then in league or amity with us, our heirs, or successors, and that upon such injury, or upon just complaint of such prince, ruler, governor, or state, or their subjects, we, our heirs, or successors, shall make open proclamation, within any of the ports of our realm of England, commodious for that purpose, that the person or persons, having committed any such robbery or spoil, shall, within the term to be limitted by such proclamations, make full restitution or satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as the said princes, or others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; and that, if the said person or persons, having committed such Robbery or spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heirs, and successors, to put the said person or persons, having committed such robbery or spoil, and their procurers, abetters, or comforters, out of our allegiance and protection; and that it shall be lawful and free for all princes and others, to pursue with hostility the said offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their procurers, aiders, abetters, and comforters, in that behalf.

"XVIII. And finally, we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant and agree, to and with the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and all others of the said first colony, that we, our heirs, and successors, upon petition in that behalf to be made, shall, by letters patent under the great seal of England, give and grant unto such persons, their heirs, and assigns, as the council of that colony, or the most part of them, shall, for that purpose nominate and assign, all the lands, tenements, and herditaments, which shall be within the precincts limited for that colony, as is aforesaid, to be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, as of our manor of East-Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free and common soccage only, and not in capite:

Lands to be granted in free and common soccage in the first colony.

"XIX. And do, &c. [Same grant as XVIII. to 2d colony.]

"All which lands, tenements and hereditaments so to be passed by the said several letters patent, shall be sufficient assurance from the said patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the undertakers for the plantation of the said several colonies, and such as shall make their plantations in either of the said several colonies, in such manner and form, and for such estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the council of the said colony, or the most part of them, respectively, within which the same lands, tenements and hereditaments shall lye or be; although express mention of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants, by us, or any of our progenitors or predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Sir George Somers, Knight, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, or any of them, heretofore made in these presents, is not made; or any statute, act, ordinance, or provision, proclamation, or restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding.

Lands passed by these patents assured by the patentees.

"In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents; Witness ourself at Westminster, the tenth day of April, in the fourth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.

"LUKIN.

"*Per breve de privato Sigillo.*"

[MEM. — Read in the light of subsequent events, the following remarks, made by Hume in 1754, are very interesting: "Speculative reasoners," says Hume, "during that age raised many objections to the planting of those remote colonies, and foretold that, after draining their mother country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America: but time has shown that the views entertained by those

who encouraged such generous undertakings were more just and solid." In less than a generation after this was written, the "speculative reasoners" became prophets.

April 18, 1606, Master John Knight, sent out by the Muscovy and East India Companies, sailed from Gravesend, with two vessels, for the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Returned September 20, 1606.

Late in July, Captain John Legat sailed from Plymouth, England, for the Amazon River, South America.

August 12, Capt. Henry Challons sailed [see XXXIV.].

In October [?], "It pleased the Noble Lord Chiefe Justice, Sir John Popham, Knight, to send out another shippe, wherein Captayne Thomas Hanham went commander, and Martine Prinne [Pring] of Bristow, Master, with all necessary supplyes, for the seconding of Captayne Challons and his people."

November 5. "The Gunpowder Plot Day" was appointed by Parliament to be observed forever as a day of solemn thanksgiving.]

VI. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONIES.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT RECORD BOOK, IN THE REGISTER'S OFFICE OF VIRGINIA. BOOK NO. 2, PAGE 1.

In 1623, among the charges brought against Sir Thomas Smythe was this: —

"That his Majesties Instructions first given for Government were not observed, nor so much as published. That they were clean suppressed and extinguished, and the Originals no longer extant."

To this Smythe replied: —

"That he did follow the instructions, and gave coppies thereof to the President and Counsell first established. And they were engrossed fairely in a Book as a Record."

Purchas does not publish them, but in vol. iv., on p. 1667, he speaks of "the articles and instructions," as being

dated two days after April 10; but Purchas must have made a mistake as to the date, unless there was another document of the kind now lost, as this is dated November 20, 1606. This document was published in Hening's "Virginia Statutes at Large," vol. i. pp. 67–75, in 1809. It was taken from a MS. record book in the register's office of Virginia, but I am not prepared to claim that it was the same record book in which Sir Thomas Smythe had it "fairely engrossed."

Burke, in his "History of Virginia," vol. i. pp. 85–92, gives an extended abstract of this paper, but the whole of it has only been printed, I believe, by Hening, as aforesaid, and I have copied from his imprint, which makes the whole document a single sentence, probably one of the longest on record.

"Articles, Instructions and Orders made, sett down and established by us, the twentieth day of November, in the year of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland the fourth and of Scotland the fortieth, for the good Order and Government of the two several Colonies and Plantations to be made by our loving subjects, in the Country commonly called Virginia and America, between thirty-four and forty-five degrees from the æquinoctial line.

Whereas Wee, by our letter pattents under our great seale of England, bearing date att Westminster, the tenth day of Aprill, in the year of our raigne of England, France and Ireland the fourth, and of Scotland the 39th, have given lycence to sundry our loving subjects named in the said letters pattents and to their associates, to deduce and conduct two several Collonies or plantations of sundry our loving people willing to abide and inhabit in certain parts of Virginia and America, with divers preheminences, priviledges, authorities and other things, as in and by the same letters pattents more particularly it appeareth, Wee according to the effect and true meaning of the same letters pattents, doe by these presents, signed with our hand, signe

manuel and sealed with our privy seale of our realme of England, establish and ordaine,[1] that our trusty and well beloved *Sir William Wade*, Knight, our Lieutenant of our Tower of London, *Sir Thomas Smith*, Knight, *Sir Walter Cope*, Knight, *Sir George Moor*, Knight, Sir Francis Popeham, Knight, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, Sir John Trevor, Knight, *Sir Henry Montague*, Knight, recorder of the citty of London, *Sir William Romney*, Knight, John Dodderidge, Esq. Sollicitor General, Thomas Warr, Esqr. *John Eldred* of the citty of London, merchant, Thomas James of the citty of Bristol, merchant, and James Bagge of Plymouth, in the county of Devonshire, merchant, shall be our councel for all matters which shall happen in Virginia or any the territories of America, between thirty-four and forty-five degrees from the æquinoctial line northward, and the Islands to the several collonies limitted and assigned, and that they shall be called the King's Councel of Virginia, which councel or the most part of them shal have full power and authority, att our pleasure, in our name, and under us, our heires and successors, to give directions to the councels of the several collonies which shal be within any part of the said country of Virginia and America, within the degrees first above mentioned, with the Islands aforesaid, for the good government of the people to be planted in those parts, and for the good ordering and desposing of all causes happening within the same, and the same to be done for the substance thereof, as neer to the common lawes of England, and the equity thereof, as may be, and to passe under our seale, appointed for that councel, which councel, and every or any of them shall, from time to time be increased, altered or changed, and others put in their places, att the nomination of us, our heires and successors, and att our and their will and pleas-

Councillors how nominated.

[1] The members of His Majesty's council of Virginia were chosen from the members of the two companies. I am quite sure that the names in italics were members of the first colony, the others being members of the second colony. Most of them were then members of Parliament.

ure, and the same councel of Virginia, or the more part of them, for the time being, shall nominate and appoint the first several councellours of those several councells, which are to be appointed for those two several colonies, which are to be made plantations in Virginia and America, between the degrees before mentioned, according to our said letters pattents in that behalfe made; and that each of the same councels of the same several colonies shal, by the major part of them, choose one of the same councel, not being the minister of God's word, to be president of the same councel, and to continue in that office, by the space of one whole year, unless he shall in the mean time dye or be removed from that office; and wee doe further hereby establish and ordaine, that it shal be lawful for the major part[1] of either of the said councells, upon any just cause, either absence or otherwise, to remove the president or any other of that councel, from being either president, or any of that councel; and upon the deathes or removal of any of the presidents or councel, it shal be lawful for the major part of that councel, to elect another in the place of the party soe dying or removed, so alwaies, as they shal not be above thirteen of either of the said councellours, and wee doe establish and ordaine, that the president shal not continue in his office of president ship above the space of one year; and wee doe specially ordaine, charge, and require, the said president and councells, and the ministers of the said several colonies respectively, within their several limits and precincts, that they, with all diligence, care, and respect, doe provide, that the true word, and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used, not only within every of the said several colonies, and plantations, but alsoe as much as they may amongst the

Each council to choose a president; his continuance in office.

Vacancies, how supplied.

Christian religion to be preached among the colonists and the savages.

[1] This clause destroyed the usefulness of the president in troublesome times, and made him an object to lay the blame on when affairs were not going smoothly, while the authority was really in the hands of the majority.

salvage people which doe or shall adjoine unto them, or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realme of England; and that they shall not suffer any person, or persons to withdrawe any of the subjects or people inhabiting, or which shall inhabit within any of the said several colonies and plantations from the same, or from their due allegiance, unto us, our heires and successors, as their immediate soveraigne under God; and if they shall find within any of the said colonies and plantations, any person or persons soe seeking to withdrawe any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or any of the people of those lands or territories, within the precincts aforesaid, they shall with all diligence, him or them soe offending cause to be apprehended, arrested, and imprisoned, until he shall fully and throughly reforme himselfe, or otherwise, when the cause soe requireth, that he shall, with all convenient speed be sent into our realme of England, here to receive condigne punishment for his or their said offence or offences; and moreover wee doe hereby ordaine and establish for us, our heires and successors, that all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments to be had and enjoyed by any of our subjects within the precincts aforesaid, shal be had and inherited and enjoyed, according as in the like estates they be had and enjoyed by the lawes within this realme of England; and that the offences of tumults, rebellion, conspiracies, mutiny and seditions in those parts which may be dangerous to the estates there, together with murther, manslaughter, incest, rapes, and adulteries committed in those parts within the precincts of any the degrees above mentioned (and noe other offences) shal be punished by death, and that without the benefit of the clergy, except in case of manslaughter, in which clergie is to be allowed, and that the said several presidents and councells, and the greater number of them, within every of the several limits and precincts, shall have

Penalty for withdrawing any of the people from their religion or allegiance.

How lands to descend and pass.

How certain offences to be punished.

full power and authority, to hear and determine all and every the offences aforesaid, within the precinct of their several colonies, in manner and forme following, that is to say, by twelve honest and indifferent persons sworne upon the Evangelists, to be returned by such ministers and officers as every of the said presidents and councells, or the most part of them respectively shall assigne, and the twelve persons soe returned and sworne shall, according to the evidence to be given unto them upon oath and according to the truth, in their consciences, either convict or acquit every of the said persons soe to be accused and tried by them; and that all and every person or persons, which shall voluntarily confesse any of the said offences to be committed by him, shall, upon such his confession thereof, be convicted of the same, as if he had been found guilty of the same, by the verdict of any such twelve jurors, as is aforesaid; and that every person and persons which shall be accused of any of the said offences, and which shall stand mute, or refusing to make direct answer thereunto, shall be, and he held convicted of the said offence, as if he had been found guilty by the verdict of twelve such jurors, as aforesaid; and that every person and persons soe convicted, either by verdict, his own confession, or by standing mute, or by refusing directly to answer as aforesaid of any the offences before mentioned, the said Presidents, or Councells, or the greatest number of them within their several precincts and limits, where such conviction shall be had and made as aforesaid, shall have full power and authority, by these presents, to give judgment of death upon every such offender, without the benefit of the clergy, except only in cause of manslaughter, and noe person soe adjudged, attainted, or condemned shall be reprived from the execution of the said judgment, without the consent of the said president and council or the most part of them by whom such judgment shall be given; and that noe person

Trial by jury.

Judgment on standing mute or by confession.

President and council to pronounce judgment.

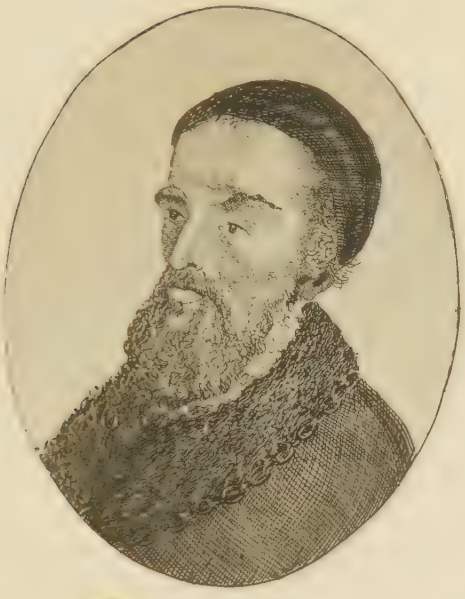
Reprieve by the president and council. Pardon by the king.

shal receive any pardon, or be absolutely discharged of any the said offences, for which he shall be condemned to death as aforesaid, but by pardon of us, our heires and successors, under our great seale of England; and wee doe in like manner establish and ordaine, if any either of the said collonies shall offend in any of the offences before mentioned, within any part between the degrees aforesaid, out of the precincts of his or their collony, that then every such offender or offenders shall be tried and punished as aforesaid within his or their proper collony; and that every the said presidents and councells, within their several limits and precincts, and the more part of them shall have power and authority by these presents to hear and determine all and every other wrongs, trespasses, offences, and misdeameanors whatsoever, other than those before mentioned, upon accusation of any person, and proof thereof made, by sufficient witnesse upon oath; and that in all those cases the said president and councel, and the greater number of them, shall have power and authority, by these presents respectively, as is aforesaid, to punish the offender or offenders, either by reasonable corporal punishment and imprisonment, or else by a convenient fine, awarding damages or other satisfaction, to the party grieved, as to the said president and councell, or to the more part of them, shall be thought fitt and convenient, having regard to the quality of the offence, or state of the cause; and that alsoe the said president and councel, shall have power and authority, by virtue of these presents, to punish all manner of excesse, through drunkennesse or otherwise, and all idle loytering and vagrant persons, which shall be found within [illegible]veral limits and precincts, according to their best dis[illegible]and with such convenient punishment, as they or [illegible] the most part of them shall think fitt; alsoe our [illegible]will and pleasure, concerninge the judicial pro[illegible]aforesaid, that the same shall be made

Offenders to be tried in their colony.

President and council to have power to hear and determine all civil causes.

[illegible] punish [illegible]sses and [illegible]enness.



SIR GEORGE BARNES, THE ELDER

and done summarily, and verbally without writing, until it come to the judgment or sentence, and yet nevertheless our will and pleasure is, that every judgment and sentence hereafter to be given in any the causes aforesaid, or in any other of the said several presidents and councells, or the greater number of them, within their several limits and precincts, shall be breifely and summarily registered into a book, to be kept for that purpose, together with the cause for which the said judgment and sentence was given; and that the said judgment or sentence, so registered and written shall be subscribed with the hands or names of the said president and councel, or such of them as gave the judgment or sentence; alsoe our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordaine, that the said several collonies and plantations, and every person and persons of the same, severally and respectively, shall within every of their several precincts, for the space of five years, next after their first landing upon the said coast of Virginia and America, trade together all in one stocke[1] or devideably, but in two or three stocks at the most, and bring not only all the fruits of their labours there, but alsoe all such other goods and commodities which shall be brought out of England, or any other place, into the same collonies, into severall magazines or store houses, for that purpose to be made, and erected there, and that in such order, manner and form, as the councel of that collony, or the more part of them shall sett downe and direct; and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe in like manner ordaine, that in every of the said collonies and plantations there shall be chosen there, elected yearely, by the president and councell of every of the said several colonies and plantations or the more part of them, one person, of the same colony and plantation, to be treasurer or cape-merchant of the same collony and plantation to take the charge and managing of all such goods, wares, and commodities, which shall be brought into

How the colonists are to trade for the first five years.

Cape-merchant.

[1] Joint stock, III. note 1.

or taken out of the severall magazines or storehouses; the same treasurer or cape-merchant to continue in his office by the space of one whole year, next after his said election, unless he shall happen to dye within the said year, or voluntarily give over the same, or be removed for any just or reasonable cause; and that thereupon the same president and councell, or the most part of them, shall have power and authority to elect him again or any other or others in his room or stead, to continue in the same office as aforesaid; and that alsoe there shall be two or more persons of good discretion within every of the said colonies and plantations elected and chosen yearely during the said terme of five years, by the president and councell of the same collony, or the most part of them respectively, within their several limits and precincts, the one or more of them to keep a book in which shall be registred and entred all such goods, wares, and merchandizes, as shall be received into the several magazines or storehouses within that collony, being appointed for that purpose, and the other to keep a like book, wherein shall be registred all goods, wares, and merchandizes which shall issue or be taken out of any of the several magazines or store-houses of that collony, which clarks shall continue in their said places but att the will of the president and councell of that colony, whereof he is, or of the major part of them; and that every person of every the said several colonies, and plantations shall be furnished with all necessaries out of those several magazines or storehouses which shall belong to the said colony and plantation, in which that person is, for and during the terme and time of five years, by the appointment, direction and order of the president and councell there, or of the said cape-merchant and two clerks or of the most part of them, within the said several limits and precincts of the said colonies and plantations: Alsoe our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby ordain, that the adventurers of the said first colony and plantation, shall and may during the said terme

Clerks.

Books.

Magazines.

of five years, elect and choose out of themselves one or more companies, each company consisting of three persons att the least who shall be resident att or neer London, or such other place, and places, as the councell of the colony for the time being, or the most part of them, during the said five years shall think fitt, who shall there from time to time take charge of the trade an accompt of all such goods, wares and merchandizes, and other things which shall be sent from thence to the company of the same colony, or plantation in Virginia, and likewise of all such wares, goods and merchandizes, as shall be brought from the said colony or plantation unto that place within our realme of England, and of all things concerning the managing of the affaires and profits concerning the adventurors of that company which shall soe passe out of or come into that place or port; [Then follows a like provision for the second colony, except that the company or companies "shall be resident att, or near Plymouth in our county of Devon."]. Alsoe our will and pleasure is, that no person or persons shall be admitted into any of the said colonies and plantations there to abide and remaine, but such as shall take not only the usual oath of obedience to us, our heires, and successors, but alsoe the oath which is limited in the last session of Parliament holden at Westminster in the fourth year of our raigne, for their due obedience unto us, our heires and successors, that the trade to, and from any the colonies aforesaid may be mannaged to, and from such ports and places, within our realme of England, as is before in these articles intended, anything set down heretofore to the contrary notwithstanding; and that the said President and Councell of each of the said colonies, and the more part of them respectively shall and may lawfully from time to time constitute, make and ordaine such constitutions, ordinances, and officers, for the better order, government and peace of the people of their several collonies, soe alwaies as the same ordinances, and

First colony and companies.

Colonists to take certain oaths.

President and council may pass ordinances, &c.

constitutions doe not touch any party in life or member, which constitutions, and ordinances shall stand, and continue in full force, untill the same shall be otherwise altered, or made void, by us, our heires, or successors, or our, or their councel of Virginia, soe always as the same alterations, be such as may stand with, and be in substance consonant unto the lawes of England, or the equity thereof; furthermore, our will, and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby determine and ordaine, that every person and persons being our subjects of every the said collonies and plantations shall from time to time well entreate those salvages in those parts, and use all good meanes to draw the salvages and heathen people of the said several places, and of the territories and countries adjoining to the true service and knowledge of God, and that all just, kind and charitable courses, shall be holden with such of them as shall conforme themselves to any good and sociable traffique and dealing with the subjects of us, our heires and successors, which shall be planted there, whereby they may be the sooner drawne to the true knowledge of God, and the obedience of us, our heires, and successors, under such severe paines and punishments, as shall be inflicted by the same several presidents and councells of the said several colonies, or the most part of them within their several limits and precincts, on such as shall offend therein, or doe the contrary; and that as the said territories and countries of Virginia and America within the degrees aforesaid shall from time to time increase in plantation by our subjects, wee, our heires and successors will ordaine and give such order and further instructions, lawes, constitutions and ordinances for the better order, rule and government of such, as soe shall make plantations there, as to us, our heires and successors, shall from time to time be thought fitt and convenient, which alwaies shall be such, as may stand with, or be in substance, consonant unto the lawes of England, or the equity thereof; and lastly wee doe ordaine, and establish for us, our heires and successors,

Must promote civilization among the Indians.

Provision for further ordinances, &c.

that such oath shall be taken by each of our councellors here for Virginia concerning their place and office of councell, as by the privy councell of us, our heires and successors of this our realme of England, shall be in that behalf limited and appointed; and that each councellor of the said colonies shall take such oath, for the execution of their place and office of councel, as by the councel of us, our heires and successors here in England, for Virginia shall in that behalfe be limited and appointed, and as well those several articles and instructions herein mentioned and contained, as alsoe all such as by virtue hereof shall hereafter be made and ordained, shall as need shall require, by the advice of our Councel here for Virginia shall be transcripted over unto the said several councells of the said several colonies, under the seale to be ordained for our said councell here for Virginia.

Councillors to take an oath.

"In Witnesse," etc.

VII. ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

FROM NEILL'S VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON, pp. 4–8.

The document was written by His Majesties Council for Virginia.

"Certain orders and Directions conceived and set down the tenth day of December in the year of the reign of Our Soverain Lord King James of England, France and Ireland the fourth, and of Scotland the fortieth, by his Majesties' Counsel for Virginia, for the better government of his Majesties subjects, both captains, soldiers, marriners, and others that are now bound for that coast to settle his Majesties' first colony in Virginia, there to be by them observed as well in their passages thither by sea, as after their arrival and landing there.

"Whereas our said Soverain Lord the King by certain articles signed by his Majestie, and sealed with his Highness privy seal hath appointed us whose names[1] are under-

[1] Unfortunately, I am not able to give the names of the signers; but I still hope that they may be found preserved in some copy of the document.

written with some others to be his Majesties Counsel for Virginia, giving unto us by his Majesties warrant under the said privy seal full power and authority in his Majesties name to nominate the first several counsellors of the several colonies which are to be planted in Virginia, and to give directions unto the several counsellors for their better government there, we having such due respect as is requisite to a service of such importance being assembled to-gether for the better ordering and directing of the same do by this our writing sealed with his Majesties seal appointed for this Counsel, ordain, direct, and appoint in manner and form following.

"First, Whereas the good ship[1] called the Sarah Constant and the ship called the Goodspeed, with a pinnace called the Discovery are now ready victualed, riged, and furnished for the said voyage; we think it fit and so do ordain and appoint that Capt. Christopher Newport shall have the sole charge to appoint such captains, soldiers, and marriners, as shall either command, or be shiped to pass in the said ships or pinnace, and shall also have the charge and oversight of all such munitions, victuals, and other provisions as are or shall be shiped at the publick charge of the adventurers in them or any of them. And further that the said Capt. Newport shall have the sole charge and command of all the captains, soldiers, and marriners and other persons that shall go in any the said ships and pinnace in the said voyage from the day of the date hereof, until such time as they shall fortune to land upon the said coast of Virginia, and if the said Captain Newport shall happen to

[1] There is, also, some confusion as to the names of the ships. This document gives their names as the Sarah Constant, the Goodspeed, and the Discovery; while Purchas gives their names as the Susan Constant, the Godspeed, and the Discovery. I am quite sure that the two last named were the same vessels which returned from Cherry Island, August 15, 1606. In 1602, in Weymouth's northwest voyage, on the 5th of August, the Godspeed "strooke a piece of Ice, which they thought had foundred their shippe; but thanks be to God they received no great hurt, for our shippes were very strong." It is possible that the Discovery was the Discoverer of Pring's voyage to our northern coast in 1603.

dye at sea, then the masters of the said ships and pinnace shall carry them to the coast of Virginia aforesaid.

"And whereas we have caused to be delivered unto the said Captain Newport, Captain Barthol. Gosnold and Captain John Ratcliffe, several instruments[1] close sealed with the Counsels seal aforesaid containing the names of such persons as we have appointed to be of his Majesties Counsel in the said country of Virginia, we do ordain and direct that the said Captain Christopher Newport, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, and Captain John Ratcliffe, or the survivor or survivors of them, shall within four and twenty hours next after the said ship shall arrive upon the said coast of Virginia and not before open and unseal the said Instruments and declare and publish unto all the company the names therein set down, and that the persons by us therein named are and shall be known, and taken to be his Majesties Counsel of his first Colony in Virginia aforesaid. And further that the said Counsel so by us nominated, shall upon the publishing of the said instrument proceed to the election and nomination of a President of the said Counsel, and the said President in all matters of controversy and question that shall arise during the continuance of his authority where there shall fall out to be equality of voices, shall have two voices, and shall have full power and authority with the advice of the rest of the said Counsel, or the greatest part of them to govern, rule and command all the captains and soldiers, and all other his Majesties subjects of his Colony according to the true meaning of the orders and directions set down in the articles signed by his Majestie and of these presents.

[1] I have been unable to find a copy of these "several Instruments;" but the names of "his Majesties Counsel in Virginia" were Christopher Newport, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Ratcliffe, Edward-Maria Wingfield, John Martin, John Smith, and George Kendall, with Gabriel Archer as secretary or recorder. As their authority did not begin until they had landed in America, these instruments were not to be open until their legal efficacy began, in order to prevent a possible conflict of authority on the voyage between "The officers at Sea" and "the land officers." This plan had been found to be a necessary precaution, and had been adopted, under like circumstances, by the East India and Muscovy companies.

"And that immediately upon the election and nomination of the said President, the President himself shall in the presence of the said Counsel, and some twenty of the principal persons, adventurers in the said voyage to be by the said President and Counsel called thereunto, take his corporal oath upon the holy Evangelists of alleageance to our Soverain Lord the King and for the performance of this duty in his place in manner and form following.

"I —— elected President for his Majesties Counsel for the first Colony to Virginia do swear that I shall be a true and faithful servant unto the King's Majestie as a Counsellor and President of his Majesties Counsel for the first Colony planted or to be planted in any of the territories of America between the degrees of 34 and 41 from the equinoctial line northward and the trades thereof, and that I shall faithfully and truly declare my mind and opinion according to my heart and conscience in all things treated of in that Counsel, and shall keep secret all matter committed and revealed unto me concerning the same, or that shall be treated of secretly in that Counsel until time as by the consent of his Majesties Privy Counsel or the Counsel of Virginia or the more part of them, publication shall be made thereof, and of all matters of great importance or difficulty I shall make his Majesties Counsel for Virginia acquainted therewith and follow their directions therein. I shall to the best of my skill and knowledge uprightly and duly execute all things committed to my care and charge according to such directions as are or shall be given unto me from his Majestie his heirs or successors, or his or their Privy Counsel, or his or their Counsel for Virginia according to the tenour, effect and true meaning of his Majesties Letters Patent, and of such articles and instructions as are set down by his Highness under his Majesty's Privy Seal for and concerning the government of the said Colony, and my uttermost bear faith and alleageance unto the King's Majesty his heirs, and lawful successors, as shall assist and defend all jurisdictions and authorities granted unto his

Majesty and annexed unto the Crown as against forrain princes, persons and potentates whatsoever be it by act of Parliament or otherwise, and generally in all things I shall do as a true and faithful servant and subject ought to do to his Majesty. So help me God. — And after the oath so by him taken, the said President shall minister the like oath to every one particularly, of the said Counsel leaving out the name of President only.

"And finally that after the arrival of the said ship upon the coast of Virginia [and] the Counsellor's names published, the said Captain Newport shall with such number of men as shall be assigned him by the President and Counsel of the said Colony spend and bestow two months in discovery of such ports and rivers as can be found in that country, and shall give order for the present laiding and furnishing of the two ships above named, and all such principal comodities and merchandize as can there be had and found, in such sort as he may return with the said ships full laden with good merchandizes, bringing with him full relation of all that hath passed in said voyage, by the end of May next, if God permit."

VIII. ORDER IN COUNCIL.

FROM NEILL'S VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON, pp. 8-14.

The document was written by His Majesties Council for Virginia.

Stith, in his "History of Virginia," 1747, gives a few extracts from VII. and VIII. They were first published in full by the Rev. Edward D. Neill (as above), in 1869. The manuscript is now preserved in the Library of Congress. Burke, in his "History of Virginia," 1804, vol. i. p. 93, merely refers to them.

"Instructions given by way of Advice by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Counsel for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by

those Captains and Company which are sent at this present to plant there.

"As we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the privy seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following.

"When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-West, for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.[1]

1. Groenlandia.
2. Islandia.
3. Frislandia.
4. Meta Incognita, discovered by the English in 1576.
5. Demonum ins.
6. S. Brandon.
7. Baccalaos, by the English 1496.
8. Hochelaga.
9. Nova Albion, by the English, 1580.
10. Nova Francia.
11. Virginia, by the English, 1584.
12. Bermuda.
13. Azores.
14. Florida.
15. Nueva Mexico.
16. Nova Hispania.

Of course there were differences of opinion, at that time, as to the forma-

HENRY BROOKE

Eighth Lord Cobham

"When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions, but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable that you make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place, for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your casks, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

"But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land, and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better, for if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground may easily pull you out, and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles in the land in boats you shall from both sides of the river, where it is narrowest, so beate them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

"And to the end that you be not surprised as the French were in Florida by Melindus,[1] and the Spaniard in the same place by the French,[2] you shall do well to make this double provision, first erect a little stoure[3] at the mouth of the

tion of this continent. The above cut represents the Hakluyt-Martyr idea of 1587. In 1606 the idea of our Atlantic coast was more definite, while the still indefinite knowledge of the Great Lakes caused many to hope for a ready way northwestward from Chesapeake Bay *via* these lakes to the South Sea (the Pacific Ocean). The great desire to find some ready way to that sea was most natural and most commendable. The idea has continued to obtain among us. On Benton's statue in St. Louis is chiseled a memorable sentence of his. "That way lies India," he said, pointing to the west. The Panama canal, when completed, will probably have cost $500,000,000. In 1606 it is evident that they had the latitudes nearly correct; the trouble was with the longitudes. They had not an accurate method for determining distances from east to west.

[1] Menendez in 1565.

[2] Gourgues in 1568.

[3] This "little stoure" may have been first stationed on the present Newport News point.

river that may lodge some ten men, with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast, for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you, and if you neglect this you neglect your safety.

"When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves and landed your victuals and munitions to the end that every man may know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six score men[1] into three parts, whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build of which your first work must be your storehouse for victual; the other you may imploy in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as centinel at the haven's mouth. The other forty you may imploy for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you, which charge Captain Newport and Captain Gosnold may undertake of these forty discoverers; when they do espie any high lands or hills Capt. Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals.[2] The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the banks' side by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry such as is used here in the Thames, by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

"You must observe, if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of

[1] One hundred and twenty men. There were also 40 sailors, or 160 all told. Of these 104 remained in Virginia.

[2] Their desire to find minerals has been turned to ridicule, but the same desire remains.

lakes; if it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be the more easy, and is like enough that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which runs the contrary way toward the East India Sea; for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tanis and Dwina have three heads near joynd, and yet the one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Polonian Sea.

"In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it, and imploy some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals, if they have any, and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them, for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

"Your discoverers that passes overland with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them, and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass, for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

"And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons, for if they run from you with your shott which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure that they be chosen out of your best markesmen, for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible and thereby will be bould to assault you.

"Above all things do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs, they may deminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country

be populous, you shall do well also not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any, which may also encourage them to many enterprises. You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town for all the men you have shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year, besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

"Neither must you plant in a low or moist place because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people, for some part of that coast where the lands are low have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs, but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

"You must take order to draw up the pinnace, that is left with you, under the fort, and take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small Kedge to ride by, least some ill disposed persons slip away in her.

"You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not marr your trade, for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade forever after, and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever.

"It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be set up for any private persons, yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

"And seeing order is at the same price with confusion it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it, that from thence with a few field pieces you

may command every street throughout, which market place you may also fortify if you think it need full.

"You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Capt. Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what comodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else, to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by pasport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of any thing that may discourage others.

"Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

[Mem. — "December 17 [1606]. Commission granted to Thomas Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England, to award Commissions to divers men for examination of all such persons as go out of the Kingdom at any of the Ports of London, Harwick, Weymouth and Kingston-upon-Hull."]

"On Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606," the first expedition sent out for "the First Colony in Virginia" sailed from London in three vessels, viz., the Sarah (or Susan) Constant, Captain Christopher Newport, the commander of the voyage, the Godspeed (or the Goodspeed), Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, vice-admiral, and the Discovery (or the Discoverer), Captain John Ratcliffe.

They took with them copies ("engrossed fairely in a Book as a Record") of V., VI., VII., and VIII.; also "The several instruments" mentioned in VII., the commissions for "the First Council in Virginia," and other documents, now, probably, lost forever.

The following poem was possibly written as an incentive to this voyage: —

IX. ODE TO THE VIRGINIAN VOYAGE.

BY MICHAEL DRAYTON.

Printed in the collected edition of Drayton's Poems, 1619–20, and in the Hakluyt Society volume for 1851, pp. ii., iii., and partly (8 verses) in Mr. Neill's Virginia Company of London, 1869, pp. 14, 15.

You brave heroique minds,
Worthy your countries name,
That honour still pursue,
Goe, and subdue,
Whilst loyt'ring hinds
Lurk here at home with shame.

Britans, you stay too long,
Quickly aboord bestow you,
And with a merry gale,
Swell your stretch'd sayle,
With vowes as strong
As the winds that blow you.

Your course securely steere,
West and by South forth keepe;
Rocks, lee-shores, nor sholes,
When Eolus scowles,
You need not feare,
So absolute the deepe.

And cheerefully at sea,
Successe you still intice,
To get the pearle and gold,
And ours to hold,
VIRGINIA,
Earth's only Paradise,

Where nature hath in store
Fowle, venison, and Fish;
And the fruitfull'st soyle,
Without your toyle,
Three harvests more,
All greater then you wish.

And the ambitious vine,
Crownes with his purple masse

The cedar reaching hie
To kisse the sky,
The cypresse, pine,
And usefull sassafras,

To whose, the Golden Age
Still natures lawes doth give;
No other cares that tend,
But them to defend
From winter's age,
That long there doth not live.

When as the lushious smell
Of that delicious land,
Above the seas that flowes
The cleere wind throwes
Your hearts to swell,
Approching the deare strand.

In kenning of the shore
(Thanks to God first given)
O you, the happy'st men,
Be frolike then;
Let cannons roare,
Frighting the wide Heaven,

And in regions farre,
Such heroes bring yee foorth
As those from whom we came;
And plant our name
Under that starre
Not knowne unto our north.

And as there plenty growes
Of Lawrell every where,
Apollo's sacred tree,
You it may see,
A poets browes
To crowne, that may sing there.

Thy Voyages attend,
Industrious Hackluit,
Whose reading shall inflame
Men to seeke fame,
And much commend
To after-times thy wit.

X. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2585, FOLIOS 78 AND 79.

The exact date of the following letter is uncertain. The envelope containing it is indorsed "Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London December 24, 1606. On the arming of English people for Virginia, and the orders which they took with them." But at the head of the letter itself is written, "London, Don Pedro de Cuñiga. January 24, 1607. Deciphered."

The letter is as follows: —

"Since I have reported to your Majesty that the English were arming some vessels to send them to Virginia, this has been much in suspense, and now they have in great secrecy made an agreement that two vessels shall go to that place every month, 'till they have 2000 men in that country, and they will do the same from Plymouth, so that there also two vessels are ready to sail. They have agreed with the Rebels that they shall send all the people they can. The pretext which they assert is, that the King over here has given them permission and his Patents to establish their religion in that Country, provided that they rob no one, under the penalty, if they do not obey he will not take them under his protection. He grants them leave to occupy any island within a hundred miles from the sea-coast; he orders that the second colony (as he calls them in his patents) shall not come within one hundred miles of where the other may be established, without speaking of the distance at which they are bound to be from your Majesties subjects. He yields to one of these Colonies all the firm land which lies between [illegible] [1]

[1] Zuñiga has this wrong. It should be 34 to 45 degrees, claimed by England, and one of these colonies was privileged to make a plantation between 34 and 41 degrees, and the other between 38 and 45 degrees.

to 45 degrees and to the other from 45° to 55°. He commands that each Colony shall have its Council, and here, an election is held of another supreme Council, to which are appointed, and will have to take the oath to very great secrecy, William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower, Anthony Cope,[1] Francis 'Profane' [Popham], eldest son of the Chief Justice, 'Dodrig,' Procurator of the Court of Wales and "Huane Caballero,"[2] Counsellors, than whom more insolent ones cannot be found in this world. They claim to be able to obtain from the country higher up than the Island of St Helena, the same commodities as from Spain, because it is under the same latitude, so as not to be in need of it [that is, so as not to need the products of Spain]. He commands that if they come to some river, they must try to find the source of it, so that they might in this way come to open intercourse with the Kingdom of China, which they desire much, and that the Colony which should be nearest to the Island of St. Helena should take its way along the coast and the other *below* [above?] in a straight line.[3] Your Majesty will see what is useful for His Royal service, since all this is seeking a way to encourage the rebels against Your Majesty, for whom (the Rebels) they feel the very greatest compassion, as everywhere, on land as well as at sea, they (the Rebels) are losing so much. 'Caron'[4] said to this King here that it was necessary to assist them because otherwise they would be totally ruined. The King did not receive this well, whereupon he ['Caron'] withdrew. They say there are going to France, and there are persons coming here, to make an offer of the Revolted States. I do not believe they will meet with great success

[1] This should be Sir Walter Cope, the brother of Anthony Cope.

[2] "Huane Caballero" evidently means "Sir John," and must apply to Sir John Trevor, as he was the only "Sir John" among the members of his Majesty's Council for Virginia at that time.

[3] There is some confusion in the foregoing sentence. Some words may have been omitted in the transcript, or incorrectly copied.

[4] Sir Noel de Caron, ambassador to England from Holland.

here, because I believe this King is really fond of Peace, as I have told Your Majesty on other occasions, and the Kingdom is so poor, that it will not permit them to indulge in carrying out evil thoughts. The Duke of Lennox and the Count of Salisbury, speaking in the presence of three Counsellors (whose names I have not been able to ascertain) to the King, said to him: 'Sire, let Your Majesty take the Dutch under your protection and assist them!' and he replied: 'Very good, I think some who propose that to me, receive good presents from the Dutch, and I do not wish to have anything to do with it.' Lenox replied: 'Believe that no one of those who are here would take anything.' And the King said to him: 'Tell me you — with an oath — if you have not taken anything from them, and leave the others alone.' He replied: 'Sire, when I was in Flanders, they treated me well (made me presents) but from that time till now they have given me nothing.' Another day Count Pembroke asked him to do him a certain favor and he replied: 'It is a fine thing that you are not satisfied with what I have given you; I shall make you my Counsellor and then everybody will give you presents and you will be a rich man.'" [The rest of the letter relates to the rebels.]

[Mem. — January 9, 1607. King James granted to Richard Penkevell of Rosserowe in county Cornwall license to discover the passage into China, Cathay, the Moluccas, and other regions of the East Indies, by the north, northeast, or northwest, for seven years. See "Fœdera," vol. xvi. pp. 660–663.]

SEBASTIAN. CABOT

XI. THE KING OF SPAIN TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 196.

Copy of an extract from a letter of H. M. [His Majesty the King of Spain] to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated Madrid, March 8, 1607.[1]

". . . You will report to me what the English are doing in the matter of Virginia — and if the plan progresses which they contemplated, of sending men there and ships — and thereupon, it will be taken into consideration here, what steps had best be taken to prevent it."

[The rest of the letter relates to the East Indies and to the rebels.]

[MEM. — Six days after the date of the above letter, on March $\frac{1}{14}$, the King of Spain held a consultation with his council as to what steps should be taken to prevent the English from settling colonies in North America; but the report of this meeting, as yet, has not been found.]

XII. AN ORDINANCE AND CONSTITUTION ENLARGING THE COUNCIL.

FROM A MS. RECORD BOOK IN THE LAND-OFFICE OF VIRGINIA. BOOK NO. 2.

March 9, 1607. "An Ordinance[2] and Constitution enlarging the number of Our Councel for the two several Colonies and Plantations in Virginia and America, between thirty-four and forty-five degrees of northerly latitude, and augmenting their authority, for the better directing and ordering of such things as shall concerne the said Colonies.

"James, by the grace of God, &c.

[1] The English date would be February 26. The letter was probably received in England about March 8 (O. S.).

[2] This document was printed by Hening in his *Statutes at Large* (Virginia), vol. i. pp. 76–79. It is the second state paper — after 1605 — mentioned by Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia*.

"Whereas, Wee, by our letters patents, under our Great Seale of England, bearing date the tenth day of April last past, have given lycence to sundry our loving subjects, named in the said letters patents, and to their associates, to deduce and conduct two several Colonies or plantations of sundry our loving people, willing to abide and inhabit in certaine parts of Virginia and America, with divers preheminences, priviledges, authorities and other things as in and by the said letters patents more particularly it appeareth; and whereas wee, according to the effect and true meaning of the said letters patents, have, by a former instrument signed with our hand and signe manuel, and sealed with our privy seal of our realme of England, established and ordained, that our trusty and wel-beloved Sir William Wade, Knight, our Lieutenant of our Tower of London, Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Sir Walter Cope, Knight, Sir George Moor, Knight, Sir Francis Popeham, Knight, Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, Sir John Trevor, Knight, Sir Henry Montague Knight, recorder of our citty of London, Sir William Rumney Knight, John Dodderidge Esq our solicitor General, Thomas Warr Esq, John Eldred of our city of London, merchant, Thomas James of our citty of Bristol merchant, and James Bagge of Plymouth in our county of Devon, merchant, should be our Councell for all matters which should happen in Virginia or any the territories of America aforesaid, or any actions, businesse or causes, for and concerning the same, which Councel is from time to time to be increased, altered or changed att the nomination of us, our heires and successors, and att our and their will and pleasure; and whereas our said Councel have found by experience, their number being but fourteen in all, and most of them dispersed by reason of their severall habitations far and remote the one from the other, and many of them in like manner, far remote from our citty of London, where, if need require, they may receive directions from us and our privy Councel, and from whence instructions and direc-

Recital.

Former Councillors.

Their number.

tions may be by them left, and more readily given, for the said Colonies, that when very needful occasion requireth, there cannot be any competent number of them by any meanes, be drawn together for consultation; for remedy whereof our said loving subjects of the several Colonies aforesaid, have been humble suitors unto us, and have to that purpose offered unto our royal consideration, the names of certain sage and discreet persons, and having with the like humility entreated us, that the said persons or soe many of them, as to us should seem good, might be added unto them, and might (during our pleasure) be of our Councel for the foresaid Colonies of Virginia, Wee therefore, for the better establishing, disposing, ordering and directing of the said several Colonies, within the degrees aforesaid, and of all such affaires, matters, and things, as shall touch and concerne the same, doe by these presents, signed with our hand and signe manuel, and sealed with our Privy Seale of our realme of England, establish and ordaine, that our trusty and well beloved Sir Thomas Challoner, Knight, Sir Henry Nevil, Knight, Sir Fulke Grevil, Knight, Sir John Scott, Knight, Sir Robert Mansfield, Knight, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Knight, Sir Morrice Berkeley Knight, Sir Edward Michelbourne Knight, Sir Thomas Holcroft, Knight, Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Clerk of our Privy Councel, Sir Robert Kelligrew, Knight, Sir Herbert Croft, Knight, Sir George Coppin, Knight, Sir Edwyn Sandys, Knight, Sir Thomas Roe Knight, and Sir Anthony Palmer, Knight, nominated unto us by and on the behalfe of the said first Colony;[1] —

Additional Councillors nominated by the first Colony.

[1] From this it seems that sixteen of these councilors were representatives of the first colony; while the second colony had only ten. This is manifestly unjust, and I am certain there has been a misplacement, in copying this document, of three names, viz.: Sir Fulke Grevil, Sir Thomas Smith, clerk of our Privy Councel and Sir Anthony Palmer, for neither of them were members of the first colony. Greville joined that colony in 1617; but the other two never did.

That there were mistakes made in copying these names is certain. In the copy of this list preserved among

Sir Edward Hungerford Knight, Sir John Mallet, Knight, Sir John Gilbert Knight, Sir Thomas Freake Knight, Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, Sir Bartholomew Mitchell Knight, Edward Seamour Esq, Bernard Greenville Esq, Edward Rogers Esq, and Matthew Sutcliffe, Doctor of Divinity, nominated to us by and on the behalfe of the said second Colony, shall, together with the persons formerly named, be our Councel for all matters, which shall or may conduce to the aforesaid plantations, or which shall happen in Virginia or any the territories of America, between thirty-four and forty-five degrees of northerly latitude from the æquinoctial line, and the Islands of the several Colonies limited and assigned. That is to say, the first Colony, from thirty-four to forty-one degrees of the said latitude, and the second Colony, between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees of the said latitude; and our further will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, wee doe grant unto our said Councel of Virginia, that they or any twelve of them att the least for the time being, whereof six att the least to be members of one of the Colonies, and six more att the least to be members of the other Colony, shall have full power and authority, to ordaine, nominate, elect, and choose any other person, or persons at their discretion to be and to serve as officer or officers, to all offices and places, that shall by them be thought fitt and requisite for the businesse and affaires of our said Councel, and concerning the Plantation or Plantations aforesaid, and for the summoning, calling, and assembling of the said Councel, together when need shall require, or for summoning and calling before the said Councel any of the adventurors or others which shall passe on unto the said severall Colonies to inhabit or to traffick there or any other such like officer, or officers, which

By the 2d. Colony.

Any 12 may act.

Their power.

the Duke of Manchester Records, the name of "Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight," is inserted among the representatives of the first colony, while it is a well-known fact that he was a leading member of the second colony.

in time shall or may be found of use, behoofe, or importance unto the Councel aforesaid. And the said Council or any twelve of them as is aforesaid shall have full power and authority from time to time to continue or to alter or change the said officers and to elect and appoint others in their roomes and places, to make and ordain acts and ordinances for the better ordering, disposing and marshalling of the said several Colonies and the several adventurers or persons going to inhabit in the same several Colonies, or of any provision or provisions for the same, or for the direction of the officers aforesaid, or for the making of them to be subordinate, or under jurisdiction, one of another, and to do and execute all and every of their acts and things, which by any our grants, or letters patents heretofore made they are warranted or authorised to do or execute so as always none of the said acts and ordinances, or other things be contrary or repugnant to the true intent and meaning of our said letters patents granted for the plantation of the said several Colonies in Virginia and territories of America as aforesaid, or contrary to the laws and statutes in this our realme of England or in derogation of our prerogative royal.

May change their Officers.

"Witness Ourself at Westminster, the ninth day of March, in the year of our reign of England, France and Ireland, the fourth, and of Scotland, the fortieth," etc.

XIII. GORGES TO CHALENS.

About March 13, 1607, Master Nicholas Himes, who had escaped from prison in Spain (late in February or early in March) arrived in England bringing letters from Mr. Chalens to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He may, also, have brought some account of the meeting of the Spanish council regarding Virginia on March 4; but it is more probable that his escape was one of the motives for the said meeting of that council. I have not found the copies of the letters brought; but the following is the reply thereto.

"The Copie of Sir Ferdinando Gorges his letter to Mr. Chalens.[1]

"Mr. Chalinge — I received your letters sent me by the Master Nicholas Himes, by whom I rest satisfied for your parte of the proceedinge of the voyadge and I doubte not but you wilbe able to aunswere the expectation of all your friends. I hoope you shall receive verie shortlie if alreadie you have not an Attestation out of the highe Courte of Admiraltie to give satisfaction of the truth of our intent y^t^ sett you out. Let me advise you to take heede that you be not overshott in acceptinge recompence for our wronges received, for you knowe that the jorney hath bene noe smale chardge unto us y^t^ first sent to the Coast and had for our returne but the five Salvadges whereof two of the principall you had with you, and since within two monthes after your departure we sent out another shippe[2] to come to your supplie. And now againe we have made a new preparation[3] of divers others all which throughe your misfortune is likelie to be frustrate and our time and chardge lost. — Therefore, your demands must be answer-able hereunto and accordinglie seeke for satisfaction which cannot be lesse then five thousand poundes, and therefore before you conclude for lesse attende to receive for resolution from hence if they aunswere you not hereafter for if their conditions be not such as shalbe reasonable we doe knowe howe to right ourselves for rather then we wilbe loosers a penny by them we will attende a fitter time to gett us our content, and in the meane time leave all in their handes therefore be you carefull herein and remember y^t^ it is not the bussines of merchants or rovers, but as you knowe of men of another ranke and such as will not preferre manie complayntes nor exhibite divers peti-

[1] This letter was printed in "A Vindication of the Claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges as the Father of English Colonization in America. By John A. Poor. New York, 1862," p. 34, note. I have also had reference to a manuscript copy made especially for myself.

[2] The Voyage of Hanham and Pring, October, 1606.

[3] This "new preparation" sailed May 31, 1607.

tions, for that they understande a shorter way to the woode. — Soe comendinge you to God and continuinge myselfe

"Your most assured and lovinge Freinde

"FERDINANDO GORGES.

"Plimothe 13. of Marche 1606.

"Postcript: I pray you use the meanes that the salvadges and the Companie be sent over with as much speede as is possible and that you hasten yourself away, if you see not likelihoode of a present ende to be had, for we will not be tired with their delaies and end lesse sutes, such as commonlie they use, but leave all to time and God the just revenger of Wronges.

"FERDINANDO GORGES."

[MEM. — "In the Spring of 1607 the translation of the Bible began."]

XIV. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 20.

The Spanish diplomatic correspondence relates chiefly to the Low Countries, Ireland, the East and West Indies, and to Virginia. As a rule only the Virginia matter is extracted for these pages; but in this letter and a few others I have thought it best to leave some of the other matter in order to give a fuller and therefore better idea of the general tone and character of the correspondence.

Copy of an extract from a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, April 30, 1607 [April 20, 1607, English style], "concerning Virginian affairs."

"SIRE: —

"The Council which as I wrote your Majesty, had

brought about these . . . [illegible] . . . concerning Virginia, is somewhat put out, because, as I have heard that of the three ships[1] [voyages?] they had sent one has been taken.

"They were about to commit another villany beyond going to Virginia, because they have not told me a word of having heard that your Majesty had been pleased to command, that that nest of rogues, Terranate[2] and 'Ambueno' must be abandoned. The Secretary, Andres de Prade, wrote me so in letters of the 8th of last month, and I sent it to this King here, rejoicing at the good success. He sent me word what great delight it had given him, that it had been done so much to your Majesty's satisfaction; but I think he has been grieved in the same proportion as I have been rejoicing. A thousand thanks to God for this! — They applied to the Earl of Pembroke, that he should give £500, to assist in sending these ships, and on the day on which this was made known, he said publicly in the King's palace: The King of Spain has made an end to the villany of the Dutch; better, he should make an end to ours, and I would very cheerfully now take half of my pounds. . . . [illegible] and having urged much that counsel that two vessels should sail, which were in a condition to be able to do so, the money is wanting to send them off, and the people who may wish to go, from what I hear, have to give up this chimerical notion and this marvellous advice likewise.

"Here they have built a few vessels for France, and after they were ready, I had (as I wrote to your Majesty) an

[1] The Virginia Companies had sent three voyages to Virginia. The first under Challons (August, 1606); the next, Hanham and Pring (October, 1606), and the third, under Newport (December, 1606). Challons had "been taken" by the Spaniards.

[2] Ternate and Amboyna Islands in the East Indies. Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador in Spain, wrote to Salisbury from Madrid March 7, 1607: "The Spaniards have lately (as they say here) had a great victory against the Hollanders and English that had begun to fortify themselves in an island in the East Indies called Terra Nata, and have not left of these nations one man alive there," etc.

embargo laid upon them for two reasons: for a Royal Proclamation which exists in this Kingdom, that no foreigner may build or purchase ships in it, and because the crew and the soldiers were Englishmen. The 'Mayre'[1] favored those from here who is himself the greatest Pirate that has ever been in this Kingdom, and to these three vessels he added three others of his own. The embargo was raised by their giving security to the amount of the value of the ships, and the plan was (as I now hear,) to go to the 'Malucas,' and to privateer in going out and in returning. The day on which it became known how your Majesty had secured them, there remained not a man on board the ships and thus they are here at anchor, without any one on board. Thus I have told your Majesty all that there is of news of the sea. May God preserve Y. M." etc.

[MEM. — Hanham and Pring, who sailed for North Virginia in October, 1606, returned to England early in 1607, possibly in April. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, writing many years after, says Pring "brought with him *the most exact discovery* of that coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I have met withal to this present; which, *with his relation* of the country, wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all that were his associates, that (notwithstanding our first disaster [Challing's] we set up our resolution to follow it with effect." Captaine Thomas Hanham also wrote an account of this voyage unto Sagadahoc. "The brief Relation" of "The President and Councell for New England," published in 1622, also refers favorably to the Relation of Hanham and Pring. Rev. Samuel Purchas had a copy of Hanham's Relation about 1624; but I fear that both accounts are now lost.]

[1] Sir John Watts, then Lord Mayor of London.

XV. CIRIZA TO PEDRASTRA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 202.

Copy of an original letter of M. Juan de Ciriza to M. Andres de Pedrastra, dated Madrid, May 7, 1607.

"By order of His Majesty and a paper for the Lord Count de Lemos you sent to the Board of War for the Indies a part of a letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga Embassador in England which treats of certain plans which the English have formed to go to Virginia with two vessels every month, until they have landed there two thousand men, and of the Charter and Patents which the King has granted them to establish their religion in those parts, and all this having been examined and consulted about in the Board, what was found out was, that this country, which they call Virginia lies in 35 degrees above La Florida on the Coast, in the direction of Newfoundland, and is contained within the limits of the Crown of Castille, although it has not been discovered until now, nor is it known, what its nature may be — and that from England it lies *74 degrees of longitude*, which make 1200 leagues, and from Spain there are a thousand, and according to this and to other considerations which were of special importance, it was thought proper that with all necessary forces this plan of the English should be prevented, and that it should not be permitted in any way that foreign nations should occupy this country, because it is, as has been said, a discovery and a part of the territory of the Crown of Castille, and because its contiguity increases the vigilance which it is necessary to bestow upon all the Indies and their commerce — and this all the more so if they should establish there the religion and the liberty of conscience which they profess, which of itself already is what most obliges us to defend it even beyond the reputation which is so grievously jeopardised, — and that His Majesty should command a letter to be written to Don Pedro de

SIR JULIUS CÆSAR

Zuñiga, ordering him to ascertain with great dexterity and skill how far these plans of which he writes, may be founded in fact, and whether they make any progress, and who assists them, and by what means — and that when he is quite certain, he should try to give the King of England to understand that we complain of his permitting subjects of his to disturb the seas, coasts and lands of His Majesty — and of the rebels being favored by his agency, in their plans, the rebels of the Islands and of other nations — and that he should continue to report always whatever he may hear, charging him to be very careful in this matter, because of the importance of providing *the necessary remedies, in case he should not have any by those means.*

"And His Majesty having been consulted on this matter in the Council held March 14th of this year, it was decided to reply that there should be taken down and prepared everything that seemed advisable, of which I informed His Majesty, so that orders should be given to write to the Ambassador in conformity with what His Majesty has decided. Then your correspondence is with the Council of State, through which the writing must go to you, and the orders be given to you, that may be proper.

"May God preserve you, as I desire. From home, May 7th, 1607.

"Juan de Ciriça."

[Mem. — The following memoranda, in the handwriting of George Chalmers, will be found in the Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts, in Harvard College Library, V. vol. i. p. 6, under the head "Spanish Maxims about America:" —

"May, 1607. The Conde de Lemos, President of the Council of the Indies, told Sir Charles Cornwallis, when he solicited the enlargement of the English sailors imprisoned at Lisbon for trading to the West Indies, that the Spaniards looked to their Indies with no less watchful eyes than to the government of their own wives."

This, I suppose, has reference to Challons, Legate, and others.

May 1, Master Henry Hudson sailed from Gravesend to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China. Set forth at the charges of "certaine Worshipfull Merchants of London."

May 31, "a fly boat called The Gift of God, George Popham commander, and a good ship, called The Mary and John of London wherein Raleigh Gilbert commanded, brake ground from Plymouth," and sailed for North Virginia. His Majesty's Council for Virginia certainly furnished this expedition with Orders,[1] etc., for the voyage, and Advice, etc., on landing; also, other Instruments similar to those given to the undertakers for South Virginia. They also appointed seven councilors for the colony, viz., Captains George Popham, Ralegh Gilbert, Edward Harlie, Robert Davis, Ellis Best, James Davis, and Master Gome Carew, with the Reverend Richard Seymour, as Secretary or Recorder.

June 10, Sir John Popham, the Chief Justice, died suddenly.

June 11, "An Act of Parliament to reform the abuses of mariners and sailors."]

XVI. THE KING OF SPAIN TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 201.

The letter written from the following "first draft" was probably received in England late in June, 1607.

"Copy of a first draft of a letter of His Majesty to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated Ventosilla, June 12, 1607 (N. S.).

"You recently wrote me that the English contemplated very eagerly going to the island, which they call Virginia — sending every month two ships, until they shall have put 2000 men on shore there — carrying Patents and Ordinances of that King as to the form of Government

[1] See VI., VII., VIII., and XII.

and the way of establishing their kind of religion there — and I commanded you to report what was being done in this matter, so that we could prepare whatever might be proper to prevent it. And in the meantime to keep me informed to the best of your ability as to whatever you are able to find out about this matter — and this to be done with the special care which the case calls for — and considering that this land is a discovery and a part of the Indies, of Castille, so close to them — and considering the inconvenience to us, which would follow the occupation of these regions by the English; for many reasons which have to be contemplated — especially if they establish their errors and their sects there (as it must be expected that they would do if the opportunity was given to them). It has appeared right to prevent these plans and purposes of the English by all available means — and therefore I charge and command you, with great skill and vigilance, to ascertain the root of this matter; what is certain about this determination; whether it progresses; who aids them and by what means. — and if it be so, that it ought to be decided at the very beginning, you are to speak to that King, expressing regret on my part, that he should permit any of his subjects to try and disturb the seas, coasts, and lands of the Indies, and that by his agency they should be protected in their designs who have it in their hands. And you will report to me what he may reply to you, and whether it may appear to be likely that that King will reciprocate the kindly feeling which is here shown in all that concerns him. — but if he should not do so, and if what is begun should continue to be carried on, you will promptly report it to me, so that in some other way the necessary measures may be taken, as demanded by the importance of this affair. While I will consider myself well served by you, with all the vigilance which you are able to give to this matter."

[Mem. — Early in July, while Zuñiga was most vigilantly

spying out the affairs of the Virginia Company, the ambassadors of the United Provinces arrived in England, and were well received on all sides. On Thursday, the 16th of July, a famous entertainment was given them by the Merchant Tailors of London, at which King James, Prince Henry, and many other notables were guests. The celebrated Doctor John Bull (the reputed author of the national anthem of Great Britain, "God Save the King") played on the organs, and a boy delivered a speech of eighteen verses, which was written by Ben Jonson. The cost of the entertainment probably equaled $20,000 present value. Chamberlaine wrote to Carleton, "In all things they (the Dutch ambassadors) speed well enough, insomuch that the Spanish ambassador is ready to burst to see them so graced."]

XVII. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 53.

"Copy of an extract from a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, July 30, 1607.

"SIRE:—

"In my previous letter of April 30. I told Y. M. what I knew of the design they had formed here to go to Virginia, and now I do not see that I have anything to add, except that the Chief Justice [Sir John Popham] has died, who was the man, who most desired it, and was best able to aid it. I am anxious now, and I shall watch to see if this begin again to go underway, making all the diligence which Y. M. in your letter of June 16.[1] has been pleased to command me to use."

[The rest of the letter relates to "Don Antonio Shirley,"

[1] This refers to XVI., "the first draft" of June 12; the letter was probably completed and dated June 16. I have not as yet found a copy of the complete letter.

and to "Don Thomas Shirley his father," "who are related to the Queen of England." He says: "Don Antonio Shirley has from Lisbon, made some presents to the Earl of Salisbury, by the hands of Jeremiah Clemens,[1] who is the Earl's servant and spy," etc.]

XVIII. NEWPORT TO LORD SALISBURY.

This document is copied from "Virginia and Virginiola," by Rev. Edward D. Neill, A. B. (1878), p. 12. It is also mentioned, and extracts are given from it, in the Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. London, 1872, p. 54.

"Copie of a Letter to ye Lord of Salisbyrie from Captaine Newport ye 29th of Julie 1607, from Plimouth." Preserved among the manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle.

"Right Hoble

"My verie good Lo. my duty in most humble wise remembred. it maie please your good Lordship, I arrived here in the Sound of Plimouth this daie from the discoverie of that parte of Virginia imposed uppon me and the rest of the Colonie for the South parte, in which wee have performed our duties to the uttermost of our powers. And have discovered into the country near two hundred miles, and a River navigable for greate shippes one hundred and fifty miles. The contrie is excellent and very rich in gold and Copper, of the gould we have brought a say and hope to be with your Lordship shortlie to show it his Majesty and the rest of the Lords.

"I will not deliver the expectaunce and assurance we have of great wealth, but will leave it to your Lordship's censure when you see the probabilities. I wish I might have come in person to have brought theis glad tidings but

[1] An agent of Salisbury in Spain.

my inability of body and the not having any man to putt in trust with the shippe, and that in her maketh me to defferre my coming 'till winde and weather be favourable.

"And so I most humbly take my leave.

"From Plimouth this 29. of Julie. 1607.

"Your Lordships most humbly bounden.

"CHRISTOPHER NEWPORTE."

[MEM. — Captain Newport arrived at Plymouth on July 29, 1607, on his way from Virginia, and reached London, it seems, between the 12th and 18th of August. He brought with him the first documents ever written by Englishmen on the banks of the James River in America, viz., the following: XIX., XX., XXI., XXII., and XXIII., copies of which have been preserved, and others now probably lost forever. Among these were: —

Tindall's "dearnall of Our Voyage," see XX.; Tindall's "draughte of our River," see XX.; Percy's letter to Mr. Warner, see XXV., and a Dutchman's letter to Pory, see XXV.]

XIX. THE COUNCIL IN VIRGINIA TO THE COUNCIL IN ENGLAND.

The following, taken from "Virginia and Virginiola," pp. 10, 11, is also mentioned in the Third Historical Report, p. 53.

"Coppie of a Letter from Virginia, Dated 22d of June, 1607. The Councell there to the Councell of Virginia here in England."[1]

"We acknowledge ourselves accomptable for our time here spent were it but to give you satisfaction of our industries and affections to this most Honorable action, and the better to quicken those good spirits which have alreadie bestowed themselves here, and to put life into such dead

[1] This probably complete was possibly the "perfect relation" suggested in VIII.

understandings or beleefs that must first see and feel the womb of our labour and this land before they will entertain any good hope of us or of the land: —

"Within less than seven weeks, we are fortified well against the Indians. We have sown good store of wheat — we have sent you a taste of Clapboard — we have built some houses — we have spared some hands to a discovery, and still as God shall enhable us with strength we will better and better our proceedings.

"Our easiest and richest comodity being Sasafrix[1] roots were gathered up by the Sailors with loss and spoil of many of our tools and with drawing of our men from our labour to their uses against our knowledge to our prejudice, we earnestly entreat you (and do trust) that you take such order as we be not in this thus defrauded, since they be all our waged men, yet do we wish that they be reasonably dealt withall so as all the loss, neither fall on us nor them. I beleeve they have thereof two tonnes at the least which if they scatter abroad at their pleasure will pull down our price for a long time, this we leave to your wisedomes. The land would flow with milk and honey if so seconded by your carefull wisedomes and bountifull hands, wee doe not perswade to shoot one Arrow to seek another but to find them both. And we doubt not but to send them home with goulden heads, at least our desires, labours and lives shall to that engage themselves.

"We are set down 80 miles within a River, for breadth, sweetness of water, length navigable up into the country, deep and bold channell so stored with sturgion and other sweet fish as no man's fortune hath ever possessed the like. And as we think if more may be wished in a River it will be found. The soil is most fruitfull, laden with good Oake, Ashe, Walnut tree, Poplar, Pine, sweet woods, Cedar, and others yet without names that yeald gums pleasant as

[1] The East India Company and others making long voyages used sassafras root and anise-seed for making a beverage, which was thought to be "very wholesome for the preservation of men's health" on board the ships.

Frankincense, and experienced amongest us for great vertue in healing green wounds and aches. We entreat your succours for our seconds with all expedition least that all devouring Spaniard lay his ravenous hands upon these gold showing mountains, which if we be so enhabled he shall never dare to think on. — This note doth make known where our necessities do most strike us, we beseech your present releif accordingly, otherwise to our greatest and last griefes, we shall against our wills not will that which we most willingly would.

"Captaine Newport hath seen all and knoweth all, he can fully satisfy your further expectations, and ease you of our tedious letters. We most humbly pray the heavenly King's hand to bless our labours with such counsailes and helps as we may further and stronger proceed in this our King's and countries service.

"Jamestowne in Virginia this 22th of June An° 1607.

"Your Poore Friends. —

"Edward-Maria Wingfield. Bartholomew Gosnold,
John Smith. John Rattcliffe.
John Martine. George Kendall."

XX. ROBERT TINDALL TO PRINCE HENRY.

BRITISH MUSEUM. HARL. MS. 7007, FOLIO 139.

The following document is taken from a manuscript copy made for me in the British Museum, several years ago. It has since been printed in the Preface to Mr. Arber's edition of Captain J. Smith's Works. Birmingham, England, 1884. Some extracts were printed from it, also, in "The Life of Henry Prince of Wales," by Thomas Birch. London, 1760, page 91. So far as I know, it has never been printed in this country before.

[Robert Tindall, gunner to Prince Henry; his letter to the Prince.]

"MIGHTIE PRINCE. — I thought it no lesse than my duty beinge imployed in this voyage of Verginia, In all humble mannor to make your Princelye selfe acquainted with those accidentes which hathe happenned to us in this Our Voyage. May it therefore please your grace to accepte at the handes of your most humble and dutifull servante a *dearnall* of our voyage and *draughte* of our River, hear inclosed,[1] by us discovered where never Christian before hathe beene, and also to let your grace understande wee are safely arryved and planted in this contreye by the providence and mercye of God, which wee finde to be in it selfe most fruitefull. of the which wee have taken a Reall and publike possession in the name and to the use of your Royall father and our gratious King and soveraigne: Thus ceasing for being too tedious and troublesome unto your grace. I in all humble mannour committ your princelye selfe to the protection of Almightie God whome on my Knees I daylye praye (as I am bound) to blesse and prosper your Godlye and vertuous proceedings: —

"From James Towne in Virginia this: 22. of June 1607.

"By your Graces most humble dutifull and faithfull servaunte and Gunner: ROBERTE TINDALL."

Addressed: "To the highe and mightie Prince, Henry Fredericke. Prince and heyre apparente of *Greate Britaine*, Fraunce, Ireland and *Virginia*."

Indorsed: "Tindall his H. Gunner — from Virginia."

XXI. "A Relatyon of the Discovery of Our river, from James Forte into the maine: made by Capt. Christopher Newport, and sincerely written and observed by a gentleman of the Colony." A journal from 21st May to 21st June, 1607.

[1] The inclosures, "the dearnall [Journal] of our voyage and draughte [drawing] of our River," are missing. The letter was written June 22, 1607, — the day Newport sailed, — "from Jamestowne in Virginia," and indorsed as sent "from Virginia." It seems quite evident, as Tindall sent his letter from Virginia, that he must have remained in Virginia himself.

XXII. "The Description of the now-discovered river and country of Virginia; with the liklyhood of ensuing ritches, by England's ayd and industry."

XXIII. "A Brief Description of the People."

The above three documents were first published in 1860 by "The American Antiquarian Society," in "Archæologia Americana," vol. iv. pp. 40–65. Edited by Rev. Edward E. Hale, A. M. Capt. Gabriel Archer was the regularly appointed Recorder of the Colony, and I think these documents were written by him. They are all valuable and interesting. I am much tempted to give them; but they are companion pieces, and the three together exceed my limit on documents heretofore published in America. For full information, in the premises, the reader is referred to these American imprints.

XXIV. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

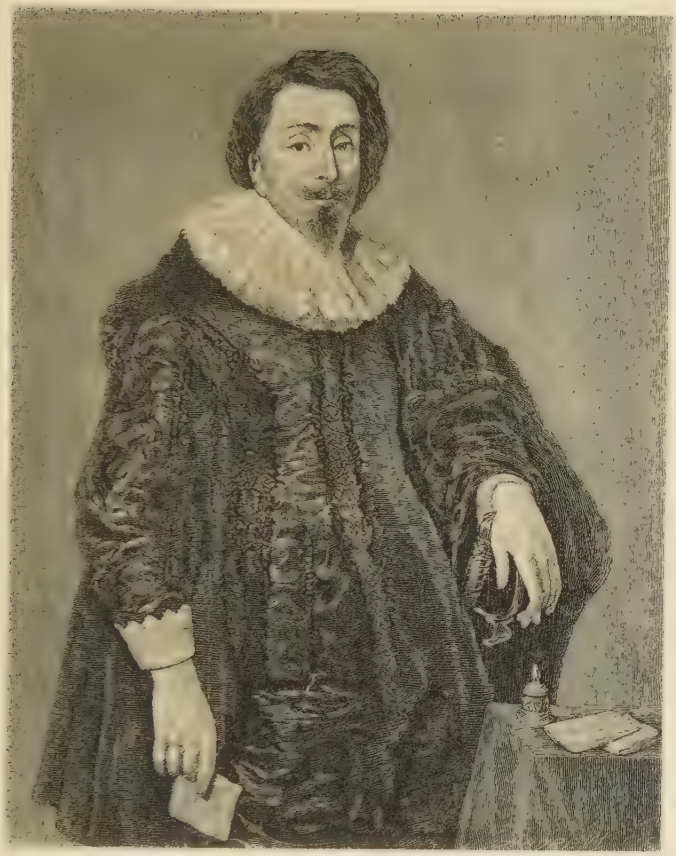
GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 66.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, August 22, 1607.

"SIRE, —

"Of the vessels that have been to Virginia one has arrived in Plymouth, but as yet it has not come up the river [to London?]. I understand they do not come over well pleased; because in that country there is nothing else but good timber for masts, pitch and rosin, and some soil from which it seems to them they may obtain 'bronse' [brass?]. They say it looks as if they might plant vineyards there and that they will be very good because there are many wild grapes there. They have not been able to meet with the 20 men they left there *now* 3 years ago,[1] and say they fell in with a King who had in all 150 men, whom they

[1] "The 20 men they left there now 3 years ago." In 1604? Does this refer to Capt. Bartholomew Gilbert (1603), or to whom?



GEORGE CALVERT

First Lord Baltimore

made very grateful by giving him a few presents. I am still anxious, in order to comply with your Majesties orders, to hear if they will continue sending people to that country. As the chief Justice has died, I think this business will stop.[1] Having heard that of the ships which went over there it has taken one a year.[2] — They thought the voyage an easy one, taking only a month." —

[The rest of this letter relates to Holland, etc.]

XXV. CARLETON TO CHAMBERLAIN.

I give the whole of the following letter because I have never seen all of it in print, and because it is, I believe, the first one of the remarkable series of letters between Carleton and Chamberlain, which contains any reference to the infant Colony in America. These Gazette Letters are very interesting; the forerunners of the modern newspaper, the printed gazette, they are filled with the news and gossip of their day.

"Mr. Chamberlain — you may whilst you live confess your obligation to Sr. Wa. Cope for not diluding you with a jornie as he hath done others with whom he might make more bolde. Here have we bin ever since I parted from you readie to sett sayle for the voyage — but yesterday the wind blew contrarie, or rather the storme of my Lord of Salisburies commandements which blows our Knight-adventurer in all hast to Salisburie.[3] He endured a small gust from the Ladie Suffolke which came the day before, and did in a manner forewarne the tempest that followed: It sownded after this sort. — My dancing Knight, if I have any power in thee, let me stay thee from this jornie. To which was made this compendious answeare.

> Your dancing Knight, takes no delight to lett you dance alone.
> Yet with John Porie, not with John Dorie to Paris is he gone.

[1] "Chief Justice" Popham. His death did "cause a stay" in the Northern Colony of Virginia.

[2] What ship was this?

[3] The court was then at Salisbury.

"But now he stays and by consequent the whole troope of the Voluntaries. The prest men began theyr march on Saturday last towards Margett where they are mett with one of the Kings ships. Sir Rafe Winwood[1] left many commendations in store for you. He makes account to returne abowt the beginning of the new yeare, and to begin a new world[2] by setting himself and his wife here at home, for which purpose he hath taken a house uppon Parcells greene neere his wifes mother and meanes to play the goode husbande. You would have laughed at me, if a matter I told you of had bin done in opinion of this jornie, and then have bin stayed. and though I now stay it is not like to be long deferred for there is no other way or meanes of support but by her and her frends, which I must be faine to trust upon 'till the world mend with me. Yet shall I see you and speake with you againe before anie thing be done. Yf one of my horses were not lame I would speedely be with you, and as soon as I can I intend to limp towards you. Meane time I pray you lett me heare where Sir Michell is, at Ascott or Hampton poile, and how long you stay in those parts. My Lady Cope comes not downe as she intended I tolde her you had a purpose to have seene her, and she sayde she meant to have sent expreslie to you to have desired your company and goode counsell how to rule herself in her husband's absence. Our frends here at Criplegate are all well. Poore Harry is much lamented of all your frends here. Ned Wimarke[3] had the newes before I saw him and so had John How and the hoste of the Star. And now you have all our domestike newes for publike, you shall understand, that Capt. Newport is come from our late adventurers to Virginia having left them in an Island in the midst of a great river 120 mile into the land. They write much commendations of

[1] Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Richard Spencer had recently been sent as joint Ambassadors to the Low Countries.

[2] The New World was an absorbing topic in England at this time.

[3] Edward Wymarke, a noted wit.

the aire and the soile and the commodities of it; but silver and gold have they none, and they cannot yet be at peace with the inhabitants of the countrie. They have fortified themselfs and built a small towne which they call Jamestowne, and so they date theyr letters. but the towne me thincks hath no gracefull name and besides the Spaniards who thinck it no small matter of moment how they stile theyr populations will tell us I doubt, it comes too neere Villiaco.[1] One Capt. Waiman[2] a special favorite of Sir Walter Copes was taken the last weeke in a port in Kent shipping himself for Spaine, with intent as is thought to have betraied his frends and shewed the Spaniards a meanes how to defeat this Virginian attempt. The great Counsell[3] of that state hath resolved of a dubble supplie to be sent thether with all diligence.

"The opinion is now generally that the Peace will be made in the low countreys. Sir Richard Spencer saw not the King since he was appointed for the jornie, and went without taking leave but by letter, for feare belike lest his knees should faile him as they did when he should have gone into Spaine. but *legatus sine mandatis* is not held so honorable a title. Mr. Warner and Mr. Porie are well mett at this present at my lodging. and you have both theyr commendations. So with my due remembrance to Sir Michell and my Ladie, I wish you health and all goode contentment.

"From London this 18th of August 1607.

"Yours most assuredly.

"Dudley Carleton.

"I pray you aquaint my brother with the stay of my jornie, and lett me not be forgotten to Mr. Gent. Mr. Porie tells me of a name given by a Duchman who wrote to him

[1] Villa Jacobo is Spanish for Jamestown.

[2] I think this was Capt. George Weymouth, whose name was then sometimes written Waiman, etc. If so, he was probably offended because his own plan with Sir John Zouche had been prevented by the Virginia Charter.

[3] His Majesty's Council of Virginia.

in latin from the new towne in Virginia, Jacobopolis, and Mr. Warner[1] hath a letter from Mr. George Percie who names theyr towne, James-Forte, which we like best of all the rest, because it comes neere to Chemes-ford."

[Mem. — On the 27th of August, 1607, Carleton again wrote, giving more particulars of the stay made by Salisbury to the journey of Sir Walter Cope, Carleton, John Pory, and others to France and the Low Countries.]

XXVI. CAPTAIN BARLEY TO MONKE.

AUGUST 18TH. STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, JAMES I., VOLUME 28, NO. 32.

Indorsed: "Capten Barlee.[2]
"names of prisoners at Sevill.

"*To the wor^tt^ M^r^ Levinus Monke esquire Secretary to my lo: of Salisbury att his howse or els wher.*

"Worthy S^r^

"I have in this *inclosed*[3] presented unto yow the names of all those that are prisoners in Spaine, the thinge that I wold most especially have entreated att your hands (more then this paper will informe you) is this that yow will commend to your care the recovering the two Salvages Manedo and Sasacomett, for that the adventures do hold them of great prize, & to be used to ther great availe for many purposes. So beseeching yow to be as willing to furder yt as yow were ready of your owne accorde to looke into the buysines (whereof I have no dowbte) & God will reward

[1] Walter Warner the mathematician, etc., I suppose.

[2] This may have been John Barley, whose daughter Dulcibella married Alexander Popham, a brother to Captain George Popham; but he was more probably of a later generation, possibly a son of the aforesaid John Barley.

[3] This inclosure is most unfortunately missing.

I sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Charles Deane, LL. D., of Cambridge, Mass., and it was published with introductory remarks by him, in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical society for March, 1885.

your Charitable devise & the prisoners shalbe perpetually bound to yow who shall procure them this favour from my ho: good lo: of Salisbury: & for myselfe I rest ready to do yow all office & thinke myselfe in my owne harte obliged unto yow as well for my particular friends as for so noble & publique a service: & so I commend my respecte to yow & yow to God's fovour & remaine

"Your friend as you wilbe pleased to use.

"JOHN BARLEE.[1]

"this present Wednesday in hast the xviijth of August *1607*."

[MEM. — September 4. Court minute East India Company. "Beads and cloth very much moth eaten, sold to the Governor Sir Thomas Smythe for £3. 5s. for the Virginia Voyage."]

XXVII. THE KING OF SPAIN TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 5571, FOLIO 214.

This is evidently a draft for a reply to Zuñiga's letter of July $\frac{20}{30}$, 1607 (XVII.). The reply was probably received in England about September 21, 1607, English or Old Style.

Copy of an extract from a first draft of a letter of H. M. (His Majesty the King of Spain) to Don Pedro de Quniga, dated Madrid, September 21, 1607.

. . . . . .

"It is likewise understood, what you say of the suspen-

[1] For certain reasons not necessary to discuss here, I thought the above must be the signature of Captain John Baylee, and on writing to the Public Record Office received this reply: —

"*re* Barlee or Baylee.

"The name signed to letter dated Augt 18th 1607 appears to be *Barlee* though the *r* is peculiarly formed. Could not find an original signature of the Capt Baily (or Baylee) whose project is several times alluded to. Mr. Hall of the P. R. Office thought the 3rd letter of the name might be meant for *y*. . . . K. Corner."

sion of the plans of going to Virginia. — What that King had done with the father of Don Antonio Shirley, and the Justice he did in Scotland to the Earl of 'Dumbirra' [Dunbar]. — And of whatever else, of importance, which may present itself, you must continue to keep me informed."

XXVIII. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 36.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, September [1] 22, 1607.

"SIRE: —

"I have reported to your Majesty [XXIV.] how there had come to Plymouth one of the vessels that went to Virginia, and afterwards there came in another, which vessels are still here. Captain Newport makes haste to return with some people — and there have combined merchants and other persons who desire to establish themselves there; because it appears to them the most suitable place that they have discovered for privateering and making attacks upon the merchant fleets of Your Majesty. Your Majesty will command to see whether they will be allowed to remain there. On account of this report I sent to ask an audience of the King at Salisbury,[2] and God was so pleased that from that day I have not been able to rise from my bed. Whereupon I have repeated[3] my request stating the reason why I did not go on the day which had

[1] The copy of this letter was dated "a 22. de *Diciembre*;" but the month was certainly "*Setiembre*," as the internal evidence and its position "*in file*," proves. The day "22" is probably correct (that is, 12 O. S.).

[2] The king was at Salisbury (on his western progress) from about the 14th to about the 29th of August (O. S.), (during which period Newport probably reached London), and it was during that time that Zuñiga first "asked an audience" of King James.

[3] The king was at Windsor September 8 (O. S.), and it was probably at that time that Zuñiga "repeated his request" for an audience.

been designated to me. He has sent me to be visited[1] very graciously and in the same way, the Queen; and I desire nothing more than to have health to fulfil what Y. M. has commanded me to see in what manner they take up that business, which I fear, he will say is not his businesse; — and that he will order it to be set right — and in the meantime they will make every effort they can. It is very desirable Y. M. should command that such a bad project should be uprooted now while it can be done so easily. I hope to God I shall be able to speake to the King within eight days; because at that time[2] he will come nearer to this place.

"I have found a confidential person, through whom I shall find out what shall be done in the Council[3] (which they call Council of Virginia). They are in a great state of excitement about that place and very much afraid lest Your Majesty should drive them out of it. They go about with a plan that if this be not done, they will make this King take the business in his own hands.[4] And there are so many who here, and in other parts of the Kingdom, speak already of sending people to that country, that it is advisable not to be too slow; because they will soon be found

[1] That is, he tells Philip III., when he wrote to the king at Salisbury, asking audience, the king and the queen had both very graciously appointed a day for his visit or audience. The translation is literal.

[2] Zuñiga was evidently looking for the king's coming to Hampton Court, eight miles nearer than Windsor. He passed there, probably unexpectedly to Zuñiga, on the 12th (O. S.) of September (the day this letter was written, it seems), but did not return to hold his court there for a week or more (see XXX.). As soon as Zuñiga heard that the king had come to Hampton ($\frac{12}{22}$), he made a third application, it seems, for an audience (see XXIX.). This may have been only the second application (see note 2, p. 116), but I think it was the third.

[3] As the meetings of His Majestys Council of Virginia were private, and the members thereof sworn to secrecy, this "confidential person" was probably a member of that council. Who was he?

[4] They were, in fact, royally chartered colonies, and not private plantations, from the beginning. The individual feature was for diplomacy, to enable the king, when called upon by other governments, to gain time by shifting the responsibility on irresponsible shoulders — the old idea of November 6, 1577. The whole of America from 34° to 45° was claimed by the king, who had placed it under the management of his royal council, established for that purpose.

there with large numbers of people, whereupon it will be much more difficult to drive them out than now. &c.

"May Our Lord preserve and guard the Catholic Person of Y. M. as all christendom needeth."

[MEM. — Captain Henry Hudson returned from his voyage September 15, 1607.]

XXIX. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 64.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, October 5, 1607.

"SIRE, —

"When the King came to Hampton Court, which was on the 22d of last month [12th September, O. S.], I sent to ask an audience, and he sent me word, that it pleased him to wait 'till he should return there; because he was leaving the next day to hunt, on the other side of London, in certain woods and forests which he has towards '*Fibols*' [Theobald's ?]. Day before yesterday he returned, and I sent again begging an audience. He was sick with fever that day and he replied that this, and his waiting for the Members of his Council,[1] prevented his doing what I wished and that he would let me know when he was so disposed. In this way I have not been able to say anything to the King about Virginia; but I understand that a ship[2] is sailing there and a tender with about 120 men and from all who go they require an oath of allegiance. A man has told me to-day, a man who usually tells me the truth, that these men are complaining

[1] The king was putting off, gaining time, and the managers of the Virginia enterprise were preparing Newport, with two vessels, emigrants, and supplies, as rapidly as possible.

[2] The John and Francis and the Phœnix.

of what the King does for the Scotch who may go there, and that he favors them more than themselves. They are in the greatest fear, that Y. M. will give orders to have them stopped; because all see that their sending there can no longer be approved, as Y. M. takes it. It appears clearly to me now that it is not their intention to plant colonies, but to send out pirates from there, since they do not take women, but only men. I have not wished to detain this courier, because the King might be one of these days in bad health.[1] I understood that he writes to Y. M. desiring much to strengthen the bonds of Friendship. I believe that there are some things that have to be done for the service of God and of Y. M. &c. — as for myself, a cloud has disappeared from my heart, because now I see a door is opening for free speech in religion. May God open it in such a manner that His sacred service may be entirely fulfilled, and may He protect," etc.

[1] Was Zuñiga expecting the king to die, or did he fear his assassination?

As an additional note, in further explanation of XXVIII., XXIX., and XXX., the king, returning from his western progress, merely passed by Hampton Court (September 12), to see the queen, and spent one night there, on his way to Theobald's. He was at Theobald's and Wanstead until the 20th, during which time (on the 16th) his young daughter, Mary, died. He left Theobald's on Wednesday morning, September 23, for Whitehall, on his way to Hampton Court. The Lady Mary was buried in Westminster on that day, and I suppose her father was at the service. On the same day he arrived at Hampton Court, where he remained some time. As soon as Zuñiga heard that the king had arrived at Hampton, he made his third, or, as I think, his fourth, appeal for an audience, but the king was sick, etc. See note 1, p. 118.

XXX. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 68.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, October 8, 1607.

"SIRE: —

"Saturday night [$\frac{\text{September 26}}{\text{October 6}}$] I had a message from the Chamberlain in which he told me that the King would give me an audience, yesterday, Sunday, at 2.

"He received me as usual very courteously, and after we had seated ourselves, I told him how your Majesties had grieved over the death of his daughter.[1]

"He replied to this with much gratefulness. Then I told him that Y. M. had ordered me to represent to him how contrary to good friendship and brotherly feeling it was, that his subjects should dare wish to colonize Virginia, when that was a part of the Spanish Indies, and that he must look upon this boldness as very obnoxious.

"He answered that he had not particularly known what was going on; that as to the navigation to Virginia he had never understood that Y. M. had any right to it; but that it was a very distant country where Spaniards lived, and that in the Treaties of Peace with him and with France it was not stipulated that his subjects should not go there, except to the Indies, and that as Y. M.'s people had discovered new regions, so it seemed to him, that his own people might do likewise. I replied to him that it was a condition of the Treaty of Peace, that in no way should they go to the Indies. The King said to me that those who went, did it at their own risk and that if they came upon them in those parts there would be no complaint should they be punished. I told him that to punish them

[1] The queen was brought to bed at Greenwich on the 9th or 10th of April, 1605, of a daughter, afterwards named Mary, who died September 16, 1607, at Stanwell, the Lord Knevet's house. She was the first royal infant to receive Protestant baptism in England.

First Earl of Toluess

was all right, but that it would be better for the closer union between Y. M.'s subjects and his own, and that this invention of going to Virginia for colonising purposes was seen in the wretched zeal with which it was done, since the soil is very sterile, and that hence there can be no other purpose connected with that place than that it appears to them good for pirates, and that this could not be allowed. He told me in reply that he had never known Y. M. was interested in this, but since I assured him it was so, and that they might send pirates out from there, he would seek information about it all, and would give orders that satisfaction should be given to me by the Council, and that he was inclined to think as I did, having heard it said that the soil was very sterile and that those have been sadly deceived who had hoped to find there great riches — that no advantage from it all came to him, and that if his subjects went where they ought not to go, and were punished for it, neither he nor they could complain. I said in reply that the difficulties were such as must be considered and the best remedy was to prevent and cut it short from here, since it was publicly known, that two vessels[1] had sailed from a port of this kingdom for the Indies, and that two others[2] were being laden here to go. The King told me they were terrible people and that he desired to correct the matter. I represented to him how well his subjects would always be treated in all parts of Y. M. dominions to which *they can go*, and with how much good will Y. M. commands it so. He told me, he saw now perfectly well how certain everything was that I told him, because in the last Parliament there had been so much excitement about the two ships seized in the Indies.[3]

"I told him that here the common people always liked to raise difficulties with us and that I would not complain

[1] The Gift of God and the Mary and John. (See May 31, 1607.)

[2] The John and Francis and the Phœnix. (See October 8, 1607.)

[3] There is "a bit of irony" in the king's remarks. "The last Parliament" was in session from February 10 to July 4, 1607. In the *English*

of such people, but that I did complain of some Members of the Council who had talked of Y. M.'s having called the Count of Tyrone," etc.

[Relates to Irish affairs, etc. In this part of the interview, King James refers to the kind treatment which "Antonio Perez" had received in England.]

"I told him [King James] once more how important it was that a remedy should be found for that matter in Virginia, because it was necessary to take measures about it before it assumed a worse condition."

[End of the interview with King James.]

"These explanations of the Council [promised by the king] are apt to be very long and protracted here, and in the meantime they may send more people there, and fortify themselves there, for I hear that from Plymouth, they have settled another district near the other. — I shall be careful to find out about what is going on, and I shall report to Y. M.; but I should consider it very desirable that an end should be now made of the few who are there, for that would be digging up the Root, so that it could put out no more."

[Zuñiga again refers to Tyrone[1] and to Irish affairs.]

State Papers, vol. xxvii., No. 19, May 13, 1607, are notes of Sir Edwin Sandys' speech in the Lower House, concerning the complaints of the merchants, of injuries inflicted on them by the Spaniards. Same volume, No. 53 [June 17], 1607, The Report by Sir Francis Bacon to the House of Commons of speeches by two Earls [Ellesmere and Salisbury], in a conference between the Houses of Lords and Commons, relative to the petition of the merchants for redress of wrongs suffered in Spain. And in the same volume, No. 54, is an Analysis of some points of the Earl of Salisbury's Speech at the conference about the Spanish business.

"The two ships seized in the [West] Indies" were evidently Captain Henry Challons' and Captain Legat's ship. (See XXXIV.) It may be safely inferred that Virginia was mentioned in this debate, in May and June, 1607, both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons.

Zuñiga's account of his first interview with King James, on Sunday, September 27, 1607, regarding Virginia, is very interesting. He had been trying to meet the king since he heard of Newport's return, probably since about August 12, and it is interesting to note the various hindrances which delayed the interview for a month and a half, until Newport was ready to sail again.

[1] Tyrone was expected in England September 16. Sir Oliver Lambert brought the news to the Court that he had fled into Spain. On September

"A servant of a merchant who is going to Spain on business, takes this letter in another letter for Doña Maria, so that Y. M. may know what is going on here.

"May Our Lord" etc.

XXXI. ZUÑIGA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 69.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, October 16, 1607.

"SIRE: —

"I have written to Y. M. and reported the audience which I had concerning the Virginia affair [XXX.]. I sent to Hampton Court to remind the Council of the answer due me, as the King had told me, and Count Salisbury tells me that having discussed it with the King, he replied to him nearly what he told me: If the English go where they may not go, let them be punished — and having looked carefully into the matter, it seems to him that they may not go to Virginia — and that thus, if evil befalls them, it will not be on his account, since to him this will not appear as being contrary to friendship and peaceful disposition. He says, he does not wish to do what *he has been asked to do, in*

18, 1607, the Earl of Salisbury wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Theobalds, . . . "I send you this abstract, by which you shall see that Ireland conceals not their adherence to Spain. . . . But, my Lord, that these men [Tyrone and O'Donnel] shall procure the King of Spain suddenly to declare himself in any open invasion I am not of opinion; because he hath now a *piece of work to treat of*, &c. . . . The time of the year is far spent, and Spain *is not so sudden* in such attempts." "The piece of work to treat of," was the treaty with the Low Countries, which had been under way for some time; a truce, for twelve years, was signed in June, 1609. Spanish procrastination was evidently understood, and taken advantage of, in England.

The student of the struggle for our Atlantic coast must also bear in mind the troubles, at that time, between England and Ireland, and Spain's and Rome's relation thereto, as well as the troubles between Spain and the Low Countries, and the relation of England thereto.

preventing their going and commanding those who are out there to return, and the reason of this is, because that would be acknowledging that Your Majesty is Lord of all the Indies.

"Those who are urging the colonization of Virginia, become every day more eager to send people, because it looked to them as if this business was falling to sleep after all that has been done for it, and before Nativity there will sail from here and from Plymouth five or six ships. *It will be serving God and Y. M. to drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time which is short enough for the purpose.* They have been told that the Earl of Tyrone has reached Coruña and that he has been very well received there. They are now anxious to see what will be done to him, and they are afraid Y. M. may perhaps in the name of His Holiness send him with some Italian forces to Ireland, so as to stir up there some rebellion, and they say, that if this should be so, they would openly declare war, but that, if not, they will faithfully keep the peace with Y. M. This is, therefore, finally to tell me that they are not in favor of war, and I have replied to them, that Y. M. has always faithfully observed the Treaties of Peace, and that he will do so now.

"May the Lord" etc.

[Mem. — The John and Francis, Captain Newport, and the Phœnix, Captain Francis Nelson, "sailed from Gravesend on Thursday, October 8. 1607 — reached Plymouth the following Thursday (15th) — where they remained untill Monday (19th), and as the wind was not favorable it was necessary on the next day (20th) to make port at Falmouth, where until Friday (23d) morning they suffered much from a great storm." On Friday, October 23, 1607, they sailed from Falmouth for Virginia. Carrying, of course, many letters, documents, etc., all of which are now probably lost forever. The John and Francis took Sir Thomas Smythe round the North Cape of Europe into the White Sea, on

his embassy to Russia in 1604. The Phœnix had been employed in the expeditions of the Lees to Guiana in 1604–1605. His Majesties council in England send over at this time an additional member for the council in Virginia in the person of Matthew Scrivener.]

XXXII. THE KING OF SPAIN TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 215.

Copy of an extract from a letter of H. M. to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated Madrid, October 28, 1607.

"I am very well pleased with the result of your transactions with that King in the Virginia Question — and this matter will have to be looked into continually so as to provide what is to be done — and in the meantime try to ascertain what ships and what men go from there to Virginia, and report to me what you may find out."

XXXIII. REPORT OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2513.

"Copy of a report of the Spanish Council of State, dated 10th Nov^r. 1607 — on a communication from Don Pedro de Zuñiga on the subject of *Virginia*.

"SIRE: —

"The Embassador Don Pedro de Çuñiga writes in a letter of October 16. [6, O. S.] [XXXI.] that requesting the Council [in England] to give him an answer concerning Virginia, he has been told that they cannot prevent Englishmen from going there at their own peril, nor will that King give any orders concerning this matter, because it would be acknowledging that Y. M. is Lord of all the In-

dies. And Don Pedro reports that before Nativity there will sail from London and from Plymouth five or six ships, and that it would be important to drive these people out from there, at once, hanging them in time, which is short enough for all that has to be done.

"And it having been seen in this Council that the 'Condestable' of Castile [Juan Ferdinand de Velasco] has reported that when he was negociating the Treaty of Peace in England [August 19, 1604], he considered that if particularly anxious to treat of excluding the English from the Indies and more especially from Virginia, he would have to encounter the difficulty that it is more than 30 years since they have had peaceful possession of it, and that, if it were declared that Virginia was not a part of the Indies, a very dangerous door would be opened. Thus it was resolved that an effort should be made to agree to it, as was done, that the navigation of the English should only be allowed in Y. M.'s dominion, where of old and before the war it was usual to navigate — by which agreement the English were tacitly excluded from navigating in the Indies — and that always since it has appeared difficult to him to insist upon it as a right that all that is contiguous to the Indies is a part of them, and for this reason it is prudent to proceed cautiously. The actual taking possession will be to drive out of Virginia all who are there now, before they are reinforced; and for this and other reasons it will be well to issue orders that the small fleet stationed to the Windward, which for so many years has been in state of preparation, should be instantly made ready and forthwith proceed to drive out all who now are in Virginia, since their small number will make this an easy task, and this will suffice to prevent them from again coming to that place.

"And to this the whole Council agreed. Your Majesty will order it to be seen to that everything be provided which may be necessary.

"Madrid November 10. 1607."

[The King of Spain indorsed on this report of his Council the following: —

"*Royal Decree: Let such measures be taken in this business as may now and hereafter appear proper.*

"At the (*parralar*) of the report it appeared that the driving out of the English from Virginia by the Fleet stationed to the windward will be postponed for a long time, because delay will be caused by getting it ready and that thus this idea is not to be relied upon." Signed with three rubrics or signatures.]

XXXIV. CHALLONS' VOYAGE.

The following interesting narrative is one of the documents collected by Hakluyt, which were afterwards printed by Purchas. See his "Pilgrimes," volume iv. pp. 1832–1837. I have never seen a reprint, and therefore I give the whole of it, though it is rather long.

"The Voyage of M. Henry Challons intended for the North Plantation of Virginia, 1606. taken by the way, and ill used by Spaniards.

"Written by John Stoneman, pilot.

"On Thursday the twelfth of August, 1606, M. Henry Challons gentleman set forth from Plimouth, in our small ship of the burthen of fiftie-five Tunnes or thereabout. called *The Richard of Plimouth.* Wherein went twentie nine Englishmen and two of the five savages (whose names were Mannido and Assacomoit) which were brought into England the yeere before out of the North parts of Virginia from our goodly River by *him* thrice discovered, called —— in the Latitude of 43. degrees, 20. minutes were imployed for a farther discovery of these coasts: And if any good occasion were offered, to leave as many men as wee could spare in the Country. Being victualled for eleven or twelve moneths, at the charges of the Honourable Sir John Popham Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England,

Sir Fardinando Georges, Knight, Captaine of the Fort of Plimouth, together with divers other worshipfull Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Countrye: John Stoneman of Plimouth being Pilot, who had beene in the foresaid parts of Virginia the yeere before with George Waymouth: The Masters name was Nicholas *Hine* of Cockington neere Dartmouth.

"The last of August wee fell with the Ile of Madera, where we watered and refreshed ourselves, and stayed three dayes, being very kindly used by the Inhabitants. The third day of September wee departed from thence, passing betweene Gomora and Palma, two of the Canary Iles, and from thence were driven by contrary winds, to take a more Southerly course then we intended, and so spent more then sixe weekes before wee could recover any of the Ant-Iles. The first that we could recover, was the Ile of Saint Lucia, in the Latitude of 14. degrees, 20 minutes, where we refreshed ourselves with wood and water. And saw certaine of the Savages there, about fortie or fiftie, came unto us at our Ship in one of their Canoas, bringing unto us Tobacco, Potatos, Plantins, and Cassavi Bread, the which Savages had slaine more then fortie of our Nation the yeere before, 1605, as after wee understood by Philip Glasco, and Miles Pett, being two of Captaine Nicholas Saint John's Company, which was there treacherously slaine among the rest. Having stayed heare three dayes, about the two and twentieth of October we departed thence to the Northward. And in passing by the Ile of Dominica, wee chanced to see a White Flag put forth on the shoare, whereat marvel-

Madera.

Saint Lucia.

Fortie English slaine by Savages. 1605. See the Storie.[1]

Dominica.

[1] *The Storie* given by Purchas, iv. pp. 1255, etc., is from *An Howre Glasse of Indian Newes*, etc., written by John Nicholl (February 2, 1607), dedicated to Sir Thomas Smythe, and printed for Nathaniel Butter in 1607. Nicholl sailed from Havana, Cuba, "about the end of September, 1606," and writes: "We shot the channell of Florida in eight dayes against the winde, and came along by the Isle of Bermuda," etc. He arrived in England February 2, 1607.

ling, wee supposed that some Christians had sustained shipwreck there. And forthwith a Cannoa came off from the shoare towards us, which when they came neere, being very little wind, wee layed our ship by the lee and stayed for them a little, and when they were come within a little distance of the ship, wee perceived in the Cannoa a Friar, who cried aloud in the Latine tongue, saying, I beseech, as you are Christians, for Christ his sake to shew some mercy and compassion on mee, I am a Preacher of the Word of God, a Friar of the order of Franciscus in Sivill, by name Friar Blasius. And that hee had beene there sixteene moneths a Slave unto those Savages; and that other two Friars which were of his Company they had murthered and throwne into the sea. We demanded of him then, how he got so much favour to preserve his life, his Brethren being murthered: Hee answered, because hee did shew the savages how to fit them sayles for their Cannoas, and so to ease them of much labour often in rowing, which greatly pleased the Savages as appeared, for wee saw them to use Sayles in their Cannoas, which hath not beene seene before. Then we demanded of him where they had this Linnen Cloth to make those Sayles: hee answered, that about two yeeres before that, three Gallions comming to the West Indies were cast away on the Ile of Gwadalopa, where abundance of Linnen Cloth and other Merchandise was cast on shoare. Then we demanded farther what was the cause of his being in this place, and how he came thither: he answered, That the King of Spain did every yeere, send out of every great monastery certaine Friars into the remote parts of the Indies, both to seeke to convert the Savages, as also to seeke out what benefits or commodities might be had in those parts, and also of what force the Savages were of, and what number of them were in the seven Ant-Iles, viz, Saint Vincent, Granado, Saint Lucia, Mattalina Dominica, Gwadalopa, Aisey. The which the said Friar Blaseus said

Friar Blacus his request.

Three gallions lost at Guadalupa.

Causes of yeerely sending of Friars out of Spaine.

he had diligently noted and observed, and did hope to make perfect relation of such great benefits and riches as was to be drawne from thence, as he doubted not but would bee greatly accepted of his King, if hee might live to return to declare it: For, said hee, I have seene in one River discending from the Mountains in the Ile of Dominica, the Sand to glitter like Gold or find Copper, whereupon I tooke some of it, and chewed it betweene my teeth, and found it perfect Mettall, the Savages noting me, began to have some jealousie of me, so as I durst not take any farther notice of it, neither would they suffer him forward to come neere to that place. And farther hee said, That if the great plentie of divers Fruits and Roots fit for man's sustenance were perfectly knowne, together with the Sugar-canes that they have in those Iles, and the fertilitie of the soyle he thought it would be very shortly inhabited; and as for the number of savages there, as neere as we could understand, was scarce one thousand of all sorts of men, women and children in all the said seven Iles.

Gold in Dominica.

"Now, being moved with pittie at the lamentable complaint, and humble suit of this distressed Friar, wee tooke him into our Ship, and sent away the Savages much discontented. And from thence wee sayled to the Isle of Saint John De Port-rico, where on the nine and twentieth of October, wee arrived on the South Side, and forthwith sent the Friar on shoare, and delivered him to two Heardsmen, which most thankfully received him, and of their courtesie brought us a fat Cow, and proferred us more with Hogs, calves, or anything else that they could procure us in recompence of the good deed done to the Friar. Wee departed from thence and sayled out betweene the Iles of Saint John Deportrico and Hispaniola standing away to the Northward. And leaving the great shoalds called Abrioio, on our Larboord side, being in the Latitude of 21. and 22. degrees, from thence Westward, our course North North-West, and North-west and

They land the Friar on Port Rico.

HENRY CARY

First Viscount Falkland

by North, untill wee were in the Latitude of 27. degrees or better, and about one hundred and eightie leagues from Saint John de Port Rico. In this place having had a very great storme of Wind and Raine continuing fiftie sixe houres and more before on the tenth day of November, about ten of the clocke in the morning, suddenly we found ourselves in the middest of a fleet of eight Sayle of ships in a very thicke fogge of mist and raine, so as we could not see them before they were very neere, and within shot of them, wherein three of them were on the windward of us, on a third and fourth more to leeward: those at the windward came rome unto us, and shot at us, requiring us to speake with their Admirall. When we saw that by no meanes we could avoid them, but that they would speake with us, we put abroad our colours, and went toward the Admirall, before wee came unto him, he likewise strooke downe our Sayle, and came under his lee, demanding his pleasure: the other ship which first shot us, all our sayles being downe, and shot our mayne sayle in pieces lying on the Decke. And forthwith the Admirall came on boord of us, with two and twentie men in their ships Boate with Rapiers, Swords, and halfe-pikes. We being all in peace stood redie to entertayne them in peace. But as soone as they were entred on boord of us, they did most cruelly beate us all, and wounded two of our Company in the heads with their Swords, not sparing our Captayne nor any. Also they wounded Assacomoit, one of the Savages aforesaid, most cruelly in severall places in the bodie, and thrust quite through the arme, the poore creature creeping under a Cabbin for feare of their rigour: and as they thrust at him, wounding him, he cried still. King James, King James, King James his ship, King James his ship. Thus having beaten us all downe under the Deckes, presently they beat us up againe, and thrust us over-boord into their Boate, and so sent us on boord of the Admirall ship. Neither

They by unhappy hap fall amongst Spanish ships.

They are borded, taken and abused.

King James his name little respected by Spaniards.

would they suffer any of us to speake a word, to shew the cause of our passing the Seas in these parts. Neyther regarded they anything, our Commission which the Captayne held forth unto them in his hand: untill that the Admirall with the Company of foure other of the ships, had rifled, spoyled, and delivered all the Merchandize and goods of the ship among them: which beeing done, they also divided us beeing thirtie persons in all into the said five ships, by [eight?] seven, six, five, and foure to a ship.

"Three of the former eight Sayle made Sayle away, and never came neere us, neither were partakers of our Spoyle. Then they also repayred our Maine Sayle which was torne with the shot aforesaid, and put their men into her. And after because they could not make her to sayle well, they took two of our men, and put into her to helpe them, the other five ships and our ship kept company two or three dayes together. After this they separated themselves either from other, not through any tempest or storme, but through wilfull negligence or simple Ignorance, by shaping contrary courses the one from the other. So as not two of them kept company together. My selfe and six more of our company in the Vice-Admirall (of the burthen of one hundred and eightie tunnes; called the *Peter* of *Sivill*, the Captaynes name was Andreas Barbear) beeing alone, and having lost the company of the Fleet, continued our course untill the middle of December: at which time being about twentie leagues off from the Ile of Santa Maria one of the Iles of the Azores, the Vice-Admiral and the whole company disliking the great Ignorance of the Pilot, because he had told them ten dayes before that he was very neere the Ilands, and had waited all this time, and could [not] find any of them, entreated me very earnestly to shew my skill. And the Pilot himselfe brought mee his instruments, and besought mee most earnestly to assist him, and to appease the Company. Whereunto by there much importunitee I yeelded. And by God's assistance on Christmasse Eve, after our English account, I brought them safe to the

Barre of Saint Lucas, being the first ship of the whole Fleet that arrived there.

"One of the ships of This Fleet, by the great Ignorance of the Spanish Masters, Pilots, and Mariners was driven beyond all the coast of Spaine, into Burdeaux in Gascoyne.

"In which shippe the officers of the Admiraltie of France, finding foure of our Englishmen prisoners under the Deckes in hold; to wit, Master Daniel Tucker, who was our Cape Merchant, Pierce Gliddon and two others, did very friendly set them at libertie; and the said Daniel Tucker, presently arrested the Spanish ship and goods beeing of great value, which of long time remayneth under arrest. French Courtesie.

"The good Duke of Medina hearing of the arrivall of certaine English prisoners taken here [neare?] the Coast of the West Indies; sent command to the Captaynes of the Spanish Ships, to bring foure of the chiefest to be brought before him. Whereupon myselfe, Master Thomas Saint John, John Waldrond our Steward, and William Stone our Carpenter were brought before him. The Ship wherein Master Challons was, was not yet come. Master David Nevill an Englishman dwelling in St. Lucas, was appointed our Interpretor. And then the Duke required me upon my oath to yeeld a true and faithfull answere, according to the whole state and manner of our Voyage and proceedings, which I did, according to the former Relation afore-written, whereupon his Excellencie replyed unto the Spanish Captaynes which had brought us, saying, if this bee true which this Englishman affirmeth, you have greatly wronged these men. And so commanded them to provide meate, drinke, and fit lodging for us, and to bring us againe the next day before him. They sent us nevertheless to Sivill, where wee were brought to a Dutchman's house, called Signior Petro, where we were reasonably lodged, and entertayned that night. The next morning being New Yeeres day we were brought before the President of Sivill, at the Contractation, who hearing of our comming,

and not vouchsafing to speake with us, sent foure officers to us, and cast us into Prison. Where for the space of five dayes wee had publike allowance, but such as poore men which were there Prisoners, also did of their mercie bestow on us. At length after many humble Sutes, and earnest Petitions exhibited to the President, we had a Riall of Plate allowed to each man a day, which is sixe pence English, which by reason of the dearth of all sorts of victuall in those parts, will not goe so far as three pence in England. And so at severall times, within one moneth after eleven more of our Company were committed to Prison, as they came home, whereof, our Captaine was one. Notwithstanding that the good Duke of Medina had discharged both him and all those of his Company, which came into Spaine with him, and willed him to goe home to the Court of England, or to the Court of Spaine where he thought to have best reliefe for his poore imprisoned Company. Whereupon Nicholas Hine our Master, and two more of our men wisely foreseeing what was like to bee the Issue, made haste away out of the citie, and so got passage and escaped to England.

Their imprisonment.

"Before the comming of our Captaine to Sivill, myselfe and eleven more of my Company were examined before the President of the Contractation: who finding no just cause of offence in us, did often earnestly examine me of the manner and *situation of the Countrie of Virginia*, together *with the commodities and benefit thereof*. And after the comming of our Captaine, they likewise examined him to the same purpose. We answered both to one purpose, *according to our Commission in writing, which the Spaniards at our taking at Sea, had preserved and delivered up unto the hands of the President*. Within few dayes after, they gave our Captaine and Master Thomas Saint John, libertie of mayne Prison, upon the securitie of two English Merchants, which were Master William Rapier, and Master John Peckeford, whereof the later is dwelling and maried in Sivill. The rest of the Company being one and twentie

in Prison continued still in miserable estate. And about two moneths after, Robert Cooke of London one of our Company fell sick of a Fluxe, whereof he languished three moneths and more, and by no meanes that wee could make, could get him forth to bee cured, although wee spent more than sixtie Rials in Supplicaves and Sutes to get him out. At length being dead, they caused his bodie to bee drawne up and downe the Prison by the heeles, naked, in most contemptible manner, crying, Behold the Lutheran, as five others of our Company beeing then in Prison beheld: and so laid him under the Conduit, and powred water into his dead bodie. This done, they cut off his Eares, Nose and Members, as the Spaniards themselves confessed unto us, and so conveyed his bodie wee could never learne whether, although we proffered them money to have his dead corps to burie it. Shortly after Nathaniel Humfrie our Boatswaine was stabbed into the belly with a Knife by a Spaniard, which was a slave in the Prison, and fourteen dayes after dyed, who beeing dead I went unto the keeper of the Prison, desiring to buy his dead bodie to burie it, and so for twenty Rials I bought his body, and buried it in the field. Then we besought the President for justice on this slave which had slaine our Boatswaine: he demanded what we would have of the slave. And we requested, that as he had slaine an honest and worthy man of ours causelesse, that hee might die for it according to the law. The President answered, no, but if we would have him condemned for two or three yeares more to the Gallies he should. For said hee, The King of Spaine will not give the life of the worst slave that he hath, for the best Subject that the King of England hath, and so sent us away with this answere. Whereupon being out of all hope of Justice with the President, we repaired unto the Regent being an Ecclesiasticall man, one of the chiefest Judges of the Citie, desiring likewise Justice on the Murtherer aforesaid: who in kind tearmes promised us Justice,

Hardhearted Spaniards.

Cruell Immunitie.

Spanish Presidents respect to the English.

Honest Spaniards.

and so willed us to retaine counsell and Attornies to prosecute our Sute; which wee did accordingly, and so after two moneths Sute, and the cost of more then two hundred Rials on Lawyers, Scribes and other Officers at length we had him hanged by the favour of the Regent, which otherwise we had never obtained.

"And now I may not omit to shew how I got the libertie to have the scope of the Citie for my Race to come, and go. Having beene three moneths in close Prison with our poore Company as aforesaid. At length I got the favor of two Englishmen inhabiting in Sivill named Constantine Collins and Henry Roberts, who did ingage themselves for me. The Spaniards were very desirous to have me to serve their State, and proffered me great wages, which I refused to doe, affirming, that this imployment which I had in hand, was not yet ended untill which time I would not determine any.

"Then the Alcadie Maior of the Contractation House and divers other Merchants perswaded me to *make them some descriptions and Maps of the Coasts and parts of Virginia*, which I also refused to doe. They being discontent with me, sent mee again to Prison, where I continued two and twentie dayes, and then I making meanes unto my good friends borrowed money, and so gave divers bribes unto the Keepers of the Prison, whereupon they gave me libertie to goe abroad againe into the Citie at my pleasure. And wayting every day for some order from the Court of Spaine of our discharge, there came none but delayes and prolonging of our troubles and miseries. So as we began almost to despaire of libertie.

"At length an honest Dutch Merchant dwelling in Sivill, named Hanse Eloyse, sent unto mee to speake with me, which when I came unto him, signified unto me what he had learned of one of the Judges of the Contractation: who told him as he reported unto me, that the Spaniards had a great hate unto me above all others, because they understood that I had beene *a former Discoverer in Vir-*

ginia, at the bringing into England of those Savages; and that they thought it was by my instigation to perswade our State to inhabit those parts. And because they had received so small knowledge of those parts by my confession: and that they could not perswade mee to serve that State, neither would I make them any *note, draught, or descriptions of the Countrie.* They resolved to bring to the Rack and torment me, whereby to draw some further knowledge by confession from me, before any discharge might come for us. The which this honest Merchant considering, and the Innocencie of our case, gave me to understand. And wished mee rather to flie and preserve myselfe then to stand to their mercie on the Racke. I hearing this the next morning, being the three and twentieth of October, suddenly fled from Sivill, and with me Master Thomas Saint John aforesaid, and one other of our Company named James Stoneman, my Brother, whom through great cost and charges bestowed on the Keepers of the Prison a little before I had got forth to bee cured of a Callenture. Thus wee fled from Sivill, leaving Master Henry Challons our Captaine at libertie upon sureties, and sixteene more of our Company in close Prison.

"From thence on the five and twentieth of October, wee came to a Mount in the Cundado, where finding no passage by any shipping into England, France, or Flanders. Wee travelled through Algarnie, to the Port of Setunall, and finding no passage there, wee travelled to Lisbone in Portugall. Where wee arrived the one and thirtieth of October, and there found ships readie bound to goe to England, but the wind was contrary for fourteene days.

"At the time of our abode in Lisbone, wee understood that three Carricks were come from the East Indies: whereof one was arrived safely at Lisbon tenne days before our comming thither. Another was driven leeward, and put in Veego, as wee heard. The third Carracke beeing at the Ile of Tercera, was so leake that they could not bring her home into Portugal, but unloaded her into three of the King

of Spaines great Armadoes, to bring the goods more safely to Lisbon. Which ships at their comming before the mouth of the River of Lisbone in the night within three dayes after my comming thither, were all cast away on certaine shoaldes there called Oscachopos, or as wee commonly call them the Catchops, where of nine hundred men, as the Portugalls reported, but only thirtie seven were saved, and of the goods very little at all: because the said ships being cast away on the ebbe, the goods were driven off into the Sea, the dead bodies of many that were drowned, I myselfe saw cast on the shore with the sundry wrackes of the parts of the Ships-Masts and yards, with other wracke of Caske, chists, and such like in great abundance.

Three ships cast away.

"The fourteenth day of November the winde being faire, wee tooke passage from Lisbone in a small Barke belonging to Bideford, called the Marget, and on the foure and twentieth of the same we were landed at Saint Ives in Cornwall, and from thence I hasted to Plimmouth, where I shewed unto Sir Ferdinando Gorges and divers others the Adventurers, the whole Discourse of our unhappie Voyage together with the miseries that wee had, and did indure under the Spaniards hands. And then hasted with all the speed I could toward the Court of England, where I was assured to my great comfort; that they either were alreadie, or very shortly should bee delivered.

"Before my departure from Sivill, I should have remembred, that about Whitsontide last there were brought into the Prison of the Contractation there, two young men brought out of the West Indies, in one of the Kings Gallions, which were of Captaine John Legats Company of Plimmouth, which departed out of England, about the latter end of July 1606, bound for the River of Amazons, as hee told me before his going forth, where hee had beene two yeeres before. And comming on the Coast of Brasill as those young men (the name of one of them is William Adams borne in Plimpton neere Plimmouth) reported unto mee whether falling to the lee-

Cap. John Legat of Plimmouth.

ward of the River of Amazons, or deceived by his Master they knew not. And not being able to recover the said River, were constrayned to refresh in the West Indies, in which time there fell a great disorder betweene the said Captaine Legat and his company, so as one of his company, in a broyle within themselves aboard there ship, slue the said Captaine Legat, whether in his owne private quarrell or with the consent of the rest of the Company, they could not tell mee. But this is the more to bee suspected for that he alwayes in former Voyages dealt very straitly with his Company. After his death his Company comming to the Ile of Pinos, on the Southside of Cuba, to refresh themselves, being eighteene persons were circumvented by the trecherie of the Spaniards, and were there betrayed and taken Prisoners: and within foure dayes after, of eighteene persons, fourteene were hanged and the other foure being youthes were saved to serve the Spaniards, whereof, two of them, refusing to serve longer in there ships, were put into the Prison at Sivill, the other two remayne still as slaves to the Spaniards.

Mutinie. Cap. Legat slaine by his mutinous crew, which knew not when they had done to bring home their Ship, and so stumbled on Spanish Iusticers. I have heard him much commended for a Proper expert Seaman.

"This I had the rather noted to the end, that it may be the better considered what numbers of ships and men have gone out of England since the conclusion of Peace between England and Spaine (19th Augt 1604–15th June 1605) in the way of honest Trade and Traffique, and how many of them have miserably miscarried. Having beene slaine, drowned, hanged or pittifully captived, and thrust out of their Ships and all their goods."

[Mem. — In 1607 a second edition of "The Seaman's Secrets," etc., first published by John Davis, in 1594, was issued from the Press. In this work Davis says, — "For what hath made the Spaniard to be so great a Monarch, the Commander of both Indies, to abound in wealth and all Nature's benefites, but only the painefull industrie of his subjects by Navigation."]

XXXV. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 80.

Copy of an Extract from a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, "dated London, December 6, 1607."

"SIRE.

. . . . . .

"As to Virginia, I hear that three or four other ships will return there. *Will your Majesty give orders that measures be taken in time;* because now it will be very easy, and quite difficult afterwards, when they have taken root, and if they are punished in the beginning, the result will be, that no more will go there."

[MEM. — I can only guess at the date of the return to England of the vessels from North Virginia. The draught of Fort St. George (LVIII.), by John Hunt, is dated October 8, 1607. "A Relation of A Voyage to Sagadahoc" (XXXVI.) is a journal of particulars from June 1 to October 6, 1607. Strachey says, The Mary and John, Captain Robert Davies, was dispatched away soon after their first arrival "to advertise both of their save arrival and forwardness of their plantation . . . *with letters to the* Lord Chief Justice," etc. It seems to me probable that the Mary and John left about October 8, 1607, and possibly arrived at Plymouth late in November, or early in December following, bringing the aforesaid letters (now probably lost), the drawing of the fort (LVIII.), and the following document.]

XXXVI. RELATION OF A VOYAGE TO SAGADAHOC.

"The Relation of A Voyage to Sagadahoc," which was "first printed from the Original Manuscript in the Lambeth

First Earl of Monmouth

Palace Library. Edited with Preface, Notes and Appendix by the Rev. B. F. De Costa. Cambridge (Masst) John Wilson and Son University Press 1880" — Being reprinted in advance from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. xviii. (1880–1881).

This narrative, of probably 7,000 words, was written by some one on board Captain Gilbert's ship, the Mary and John, possibly by Captain Robert Davies or Captain James Davies. It is a particular narrative of the voyage of that ship, from the departure from the Lyzard, June 1, 1607. The Lambeth copy ends with September 26, 1607, but Strachey, in compiling CCXVI. and CCXVII., evidently had the use of this document, and continues the particulars until October 6, 1607, about which time I think the writer and document left America for England. See LVIII.

XXXVII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

An extract from Zuñiga's letter to the King of Spain, dated London, December 22, 1607.

. . . . . .

"Besides what I have written on the subject of Virginia, I have learned that they have appointed Baron '*Queri*' [Carew], who is Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen, a Counsellor of Virginia — And that he and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who is called the Knight 'Wed' [Wade], said that it would be certain, when they put two thousand men in that place between this and Spring, it would be the greatest impediment which Y. M. could find concerning the Indies — And that then we would not be able to move them from there. It appears to me that there will be more people there after Nativity than those I have written of. Wherefore Y. M. will see how necessary it is to act with vigor and *to hasten the remedy.*"

XXXVIII.[1] EXTRACT FROM THE FRENCH MERCURY, VOLUME I., 1606–1609, p. 271.

This extract, and others, from the "Mercure Françoise" were sent to me by the late Honorable John R. Bartlett, of the Carter-Brown Library, Rhode Island, not long before his death, inclosed in a letter, in which he writes: —

"I have been so ill that I have not visited the Carter-Brown Library to examine the 'Mercure Françoise.' Yesterday, however, Mr. Brown, the owner of the library, was in town [Providence], and at my request took from it and sent me the volumes of the work which relate to the years 1606 to 1619, both inclusive. I have looked through these volumes, and I send you the references to Virginia which they contain."

"In the spring of this year the Colony (which was to settle the Western portion of Virginia) which consisted of one hundred men, with their wives and children under the guidance of Vincfeld [Wingfield], embarked in a ship, commanded by Newport, which without any untoward circumstance came to the mouth of a river in Virginia and there landed. Vincfeld and the Colonists (who tried to make friends with some poor Indians) commenced to build a fort there, and [to] hasten to the search for ores; — They found crystal and other minerals which they gave to Newport to carry to England, which he did and was only five weeks on his return voyage; but these minerals proved to be of little value."

[1] I do not know exactly when XXXVIII. and XXXIX. were written; but as they were probably written sometime in 1607, I have placed them at the end of that year.

Mr. Neill gives the above extract in the original French in his *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 16, 17.

The author had some idea of the voyage, but was misinformed as to "wives."

XXXIX. RALEGH TO SALISBURY.

FROM LIFE OF SIR W. RALEGH, BY EDWARDS, VOLUME II., pp. 389–391.

"I have hard that Sir Amias Preston informed your Lordship of certain minerall stones brought from Guiana, of which your Lordshipe had sume doubt; — for so you had att my first returne." [The letter goes on to convince Salisbury of the vast mineral wealth of Guiana, and to propose another voyage there.] "The Jurney may go under the culler of Virginia, for Neuport will shortly return.[1] We will break no peace; invade none of the Spanish townes. We will only trade with the Indiens, and see none of that nation [the Spaniards], except they assayle us. If your Lordship will send my Lord Carew, or any elce, I will satisfye them in all particulars; and rest your Lordship's, ever more to serve yow,

"W. R."

XL. REPORT OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2513.

Copy of the original report (advice) of the Council of State, of January 17, 1608, on a letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga, referring to Virginia.

"Sire, — Don Pedro de Zuñiga in one of his letters of December 22d [XXXVII.] says that, besides what he has written on the subject of Virginia, he has learnt that they have appointed Baron Queri [Carew], who is Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen, Counsellor of Virginia, and when he and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who is called the Knight 'Wed' [Wade], said 'that it would be certain that if they put two thousand men in that place between

[1] The date of this letter is doubtful. Edwards, in his *Life of Ralegh*, dates it "1607?" If it was written in 1607, it was probably written in September, as Newport returned on October 8 of that year.

this and Spring, it would be the greatest impediment which Y. M. could find concerning the Indies, and that they [the Spaniards] would not be able to move them from there,' — as it appears to him [Zuñiga] that there will be more people there after Nativity than those he had written of, whereby Y. M. will see how necessary it is to act with vigor, and *to hasten the remedy*.

"The Council says that having informed Y. M. as to other information that arrived before this, Y. M. was pleased to *command that there should be prepared whatever was necessary to drive out the people who are in Virginia*, and that the Council should advise what ought to be provided, in compliance with which it says that the fleet ought to be notified and a copy of this advice should be given to Count Lemos, so that he may show it to the Council or Board of War of the Indies. And Y. M. should be informed of what may appear. Y. M. will command to be done and prepared all that may best serve.

"In Madrid, January 17th, 1608."

[Here follow the six signatures or rubrics, — flourishes forming part of certain Spanish signatures.]

"Decree of the King, endorsed on the above: — Let new copies of the reports be given, and also to the Council of War, informing those to whom they are given, that they are to serve to hasten all that is necessary, and *not to let any one hear what is being done*."

[Royal signature.]

[Mem. — I can only continue to guess at the date of the return to England of the vessels from North Virginia; but it seems very probable that one of the vessels left about October 8, 1607, which vessel, as I have said, I believe was the Mary and John, Captain Robert Davies. It seems to me also probable that the other vessel, the Gift of God, Captain James Davies, returned about the 15th of December, 1607, bringing XLI., and probably "with divers other letters from Captain Popham and others" (see Purchas, iv.

p. 1837), now lost, I fear, forever. If this surmise is correct, the Gift of God probably reached England about February 8, 1608, on which day Captain J. Davies wrote a letter to Cecil. However, this is all merely conjecture.[1]]

XLI. POPHAM TO JAMES I.

The following translation of the original Latin is taken from the "Popham Memorial Volume," pp. 223–226.

Addressed: "To the most heigh and mightie my gratious Sovereign Lord James of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, Virginia and Moasson, Kinge.

"At the feet of his most serene King, humbly prostrates himself George Popham, President of the second Colony of Virginia.

"If it may please the patience of your divine Majesty to receive a few things from your most observant and devoted, though unworthy servant, I trust it will derogate nothing from the lustre of your Highness, since they seem to redound to the glory of God, the greatness of your Majesty, and the utility of the Britons. I have thought it, therefore very just that it should be made Known to your Majesty, that among the Virginians and Moassons, there is no one in the world more admired than King James, Sovereign Lord of the Britons, on account of his admirable justice and incredible constancy, which gives no small pleasure to the natives of these regions; who say, moreover, that there is no God to be truly worshipped but the God of King James; under whose rule and reign they would gladly fight. Tahanida, one of the natives who was in Britain, has here proclaimed to them your praises and virtues.

[1] I have some abstracts of letters and papers of the present Marquis of Salisbury's preserved at Hatfield House, which throw additional light on the North Virginia colony, but do not give them as I learn that the complete documents will be given in the forthcoming volume (*Life of Sir F. Gorges*) of The Prince Society. Boston, Mass.

"What and how much I may avail in transacting these affairs and in confirming their minds, let those judge who are well versed in these matters at home; while I wittingly avow that all my endeavors are as nothing when considered in comparison with my duty towards my Prince. My well considered opinion is, that in these regions the glory of God may be easily evidenced, the Empire of your Majesty enlarged and the public welfare of the Britons speedily augmented.

"So far as relates to commerce, all the natives constantly affirm that in these parts there are nutmegs, mace and cinnamon, besides pitch, Brazil wood, cochineal and ambergris, with many other products of great importance and value; and these, too, in the greatest abundance.

"Besides, they positively assure me, that there is a certain Sea in the opposite or western part of this province, distant not more than seven day's journey from our fort of St. George in Sagadahoc: a sea large, wide and deep of the boundaries of which they are wholly ignorant; which cannot be any other than the Southern Ocean, reaching to the regions of China, which unquestionably cannot be far from these parts.

"If therefore, it may please you to keep open your divine eyes on this matter of my report, I doubt not but your Highness will perform a work most pleasing to God, honorable to your greatness, and most conducive to the weal of your Kingdom, which with most ardent prayers I vehemently desire; and I beg of God, the best and the greatest, that he will preserve the glorious majesty of my Sovereign James for ages to come.

"At the Fort of St. George in Sagadahoc of Virginia, the thirteenth of December, 1607.

"In all things Your Majesty's most devoted servant.

"George Popham."

XLII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP II.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 93.

Copy of a deciphered letter from Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, March 28, 1608.

"SIRE: —

"The persons interested in Virginia increase daily and they have put into the Council as President Count Lincon,[1] who is an impertinent old man, and who has never been held in esteem; but the reason that they have taken hold of him, is because he is a wealthy man, who has given them 8.000 Philips (gold pieces) with the condition that with this sum as far as they can a goodly number of people be sent (they say as many as 800 men), within one month or two, their expectation is that they will in a short time send there 2.500 or 3000 men — *on which account it seems to me necessary to intercept them on the way.*

"Besides they are sending from here, they say, two ships bound for the East Indies, which carry 10.000 ducats in ready money and that they will go to the mouth of the Red Sea, to a place they call Aden; — that from there, they will pass on to the Kingdom of Camboya adjoining Malagor and between Ormus and Goa. One of these ships is of 500 tons burden and the other of 400 tons[2] — the first carries 80 men and 20 pieces of Artillery, the other 60 men and 14 pieces, and both go loaded with iron and cloth.

"Our Lord" etc.

[1] Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln.

[2] The fourth voyage of the East India Company, "the which voyage God bless and prosper, began at the Downs near Sandwich the 23rd March 1608."

I have of course confined myself to writing of the voyages having some direct bearing on the colonization of North America, but the reader will remember the great interest taken at this time in spreading abroad the commerce of England. Ships were constantly going from and returning to London and other ports, trading over a great part of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. Under the guidance of James I., old warrior England was rapidly learning to reap the blessed fruits of peace.

XLIII. RESOLUTION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

FROM THE REGISTER OF RESOLUTIONS OF THE STATES GENERAL, IN THE ROYAL ARCHIVES AT THE HAGUE, FOLIO 57.

This document is printed in "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York" (1856), vol i. p. 2.

Resolution of the States General, granting leave of absence to Sir Thomas Gates, Thursday, April 24, 1608.

"On the petition of Sir Thomas Gates, Captain of a Company of English soldiers, commissioned by the King of Great Britain to command with three other gentlemen in the Country of Virginia in colonizing the said Countries; the Petitioner is therefore allowed to be absent from his company for the space of one year, on condition that he supply his Company with good officers and soldiers for the public service."

XLIV. GORGES TO SALISBURY.

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC. JAMES I., VOLUME 32, NUMBER 33.

Indorsed: "To the Right Hole my very good Lord the Earle of Salesbury at the Court give these. 2do Maij. 1608. Sr Fard: Gorges frō Plimmouth."

This letter is mentioned in "A Vindication of the Claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as the Father of English Colonization in America. By John A. Poor. New York, 1862," p. 19, as "Letter. Sir F. G. to *Thomas Gamel* of Salisbury," but I have never seen the letter in print. My copy was made for me in the British Museum several years ago.

"Right Hole — I thought it my duty to advertize your Lorship that Captayne Challoner hath made an escape out of Spaine and is arrived here havinge brought with him his bayle. Which he hath don for that he sawe his cause soe

desperate, and his hope soe smale and finding by the manner of their proceeding noe likelyhode of other, then a miserable conclusion of his tedious suite. But (poore gent) his wants are soe greate now (he beinge come home) as he hath not meanes to supplie his present necessityes: otherwise he had come uppe to have given your Lordship a particular accompte of his Knowledge of the affayres of those partes himselfe; as alsoe to have given his dutyfull thancks for those honorable favours it hath pleased your Lordship to afforde to him, and the rest of his poore people, whome he left in greate extreamity. But those thinges of moment, which I collecte from his relation, is first a greate Levey towards of land-souldiers; but it is not knowen whether they are to goe, or what their intent is to doe. Ther is alsoe a common opinion yt the peace with the Hollanders will not goe forwarde by reason (as they say) that your Lordship is pleased to oppose yourselfe agaynst it, and to give encouragement under hand to the Flemminges to make demands of unreasonable condicions; for which your doings they dowbt not, but your dayes wilbe shortened, & then they presume to frame their businesse to their better lyking. They promise mountaynes unto themselves, & are perswaded of greate partyes, that they have in England (when the tyme shall come) yt are fitt to make use of them. They speake moste basely & unworthiely of his Majesty & alsoe of her Highnesse & soe vile as it is agaynst the nature of an honest man to write it; nor possible to live, & heare it (if it be as he reportes) without endeavouring to be revenged of it. My desire is not to aggravate matters betweene Princes, or to be noted for a *boat a-feu* (sic) in these tymes of peace; the which maks mee more sparing then otherwise I would be, fearing least my profession would be an occasion to perswade yt what I saie is rather what I wishe, than *what I desire* (sic) indeede. Notwithstanding I beseeche God we repent not too late oure too soone concluding of peace: for (as now the case standeth) our Kinge is by them (as it seemeth) contemned, our people unjustly proceeded

withall, and generally our Nation of all other, lyke to be debarred from the liberty of making use of sea, or land; saving wher and how they list to dispose of us. These reports ar horrable to honeste Natures to beare; and occasions much to grive our people in generall to understand of, whose eares ar dayly filled with it by every common mariner, that comes from thence. Which what it hath bred amongest ye multitude, I protest, I am affraied to write. But God is he alone, that directes all thinges according unto his owne pleasure the acomplishment of whose will we must continually pray for, & unto whose holy protection, I humbly recommend your Lordship to be defended from the malice of those, who ayme at you, for that they endeavoure the ruine of Kinge, and Country; and (as they seeme playnly to confesse) are kept from their desire by your carfull vigillancy and foresight. Even soe craving pardon of your Lorship for my bouldnesse I end, and forever rest

"Your Loppes in all service to be cōmaunded.

"FARD: GORGES.

"From Plymouth May 2. 1608."

XLV. HERRIS'S TOMBSTONE.

Mr. Charles Campbell, in "The Southern Literary Messenger" for October, 1843, p. 591.

I give this (without comment) as I find it.

"The following I found in the State Library at Richmond [Va.]. The paper on which it was written was discovered in turning over the pages of 'Smith's History of Virginia.' From the earliness of the date, 1608, it is likely that Lieut. Herris was one of Smith's companions in an exploratory voyage, viz: —

"'Here lies ye body of Lieut. William Herris who died May ye 16th 1608: aged 065 years; by birth a Britain, a good soldier, a good husband & neighbor.'

"The above inscription, handsomely carved on a tomb-

stone of usual size, standing on the banks of the Neabsco Creek, in Fairfax County, Virginia. Its duration to this time is 229 years.

"Correctly copied by me.

"THOS. HURD, Octr. 20th, 1837."

[MEM. — Capt. Newport arrived at Blackwall on Sunday, May 21, 1608. Captains Edward-Maria Wingfield and Gabriel Archer returned from Virginia with him, and he brought the following documents, viz: —

The letter from Francis Perkins (LI.) and Tindall's chart (XLVI.), and I am quite sure Percy's Discourse (XLVII.) and White's Description (XLVIII.), which four documents have been preserved entire or in part, and "A large Journal of Newport's Journie to Werowocomoco," which is now probably entirely lost. Purchas mentions that he had it by him when he wrote (1622–24); but he gives nothing from it (vol. iv. p. 1710). Of course Newport brought letters from the Council and from others in Virginia; but these interesting and valuable documents are now probably lost.]

XLVI. TINDALL'S CHART OF JAMES RIVER.

I think this "Draught of Virginia by Robarte Tindall. Anno 1608," probably accompanied the "Large Journal of Newport's Journie to Werowocomoco." The York River and most of the James is evidently drawn from actual survey. "Werowocomoco," strangely enough, still bears its old name of "Poetan" (*i. e.* Portan) Bay, although it has been frequently, if not always, located elsewhere. This "Draught of Virginia" is the earliest drawn by an Englishman now known to be in existence. It has never been engraved before.

XLVII. PERCY'S DISCOURSE.

"Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman Master George Percy. H."

This is one of the manuscripts preserved by Hakluyt, which came to the hands of the Reverend Samuel Purchas. The original MS. is now probably lost. We have only the extracts from it as published in the fourth volume of "Purchas his Pilgrimes," in 1625, which I will give, because it has not been reprinted, I believe, in this country.

"On Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell from London, and the fift of January we anchored in the Downes; but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time, where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Captaine[1] wee suffered no great losse or danger.

[2] The next day Cap. Smith was suspected for a supposed Mutinie, though never no such matter.

"The twelfth day of February [1607] at night we saw a blazing starre, and presently a storme. . . .

"The three and twentieth day [of March] we fell with the Iland of Mattanenio in the West Indies.

"The foure and twentieth day we anchored at Dominico. within fourteene degrees of the Line, a very faire Iland, the Trees full of sweet and good smels. inhabited by many Savage Indians, they were at first very scrupulous to come aboord us. Wee learned of them afterwards that the Spaniards had given them a great overthrow on this Ile, but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ships with their Canoas, bringing us many kindes of sundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits, and *Roane* Cloth abundance,

Trade at Dominica.

[1] Newport is the "Captaine" of this narrative.

[2] The side-notes are by Purchas.

which they had gotten out of certaine *Spanish* ships that were cast away upon that Iland. We gave them Knives, Hatchets for exchange which they esteeme much, wee also gave them Beades, Copper Jewels, which they hang through their nosthrils, eares and lips, very strange to behold, their bodies are all painted red to keepe away the biting of Muscetos, they goe all naked without covering: the haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length, pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes, they suffer no haire to grow on their faces, they cut their skinnes in divers workes, they are continually in warres, and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. They will lap up mans spittle, whilst one spits in their mouthes in a barbarous fashion like Dogges. These people and the rest of the Ilands in the West Indies and *Brasill*, are called by the names of *Canibals*, that will eate mans flesh, these people doe poyson their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone: they worship the Devill for their God, and have no other beliefe. Whilst we remayned at this Iland we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a sword-fish: they fought for the space or two houres, we might see the Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blowes which was strange to behold: in the end these two fishes brought the whale to her end.

Brutishness of the Dominicans.

Fight betwixt a whale, the Thresher, and Sword-fish.

"The sixe and twentieth day we had sight of *Marigalanta*, and the next day wee sailed with a slacke saile alongst the Ile of Guadalupa, where we went ashore, and found a Bath which was so hot, that no man was able to stand long by it, Our Admirall Captaine Newport caused a piece of Porke to be put in it; which boyled it so in the space of halfe an houre as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboord, and sailed by many Ilands, as Mounserot and an Iland called Saint Christopher, both unhabited; about two a clocke in the afternoone wee anchored at the Ile of Mevis. There the Captaine landed all his men being well

Margalanta.

Guadalupa.

Bath very hot.

Mevis.

fitted with Muskets and other convenient Armes, marched a mile into the woods; being commanded to stand upon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the Indians, which is an ordinary use amongst them and all other Savages. on this Ile we came to a Bath standing in a Valley betwixt two Hils; where wee bathed our selves and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes in England, some places hot and some colder; and men may refresh themselves as they please, finding this place to be so convenient for our men to avoid diseases, which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped ourselves on this Ile sixe dayes [March 27 to April 3], and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing, where we got great store of Conies, sundry kinds of Fowles, and great plentie of fish. We kept Centinels and Courts *de gard* at every Captaines quarter, fearing wee should be assaulted by the Indians, that were on the other side of the Iland: wee saw none nor were molested by any: but some few we saw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to us by any means, but ranne swiftly through the woods to the Mountaine tops; so we lost the sight of them: whereupon we made all the haste wee could to our quarter, thinking there had beene a great ambush of Indians there abouts. We past into the thickest of the Woods where we had almost lost ourselves, we had not gone above halfe a mile amongst the thicke, but we came into a most pleasant Garden, being a hundred paces square on every side, having many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance of Cotton-Wooll, and many *Guiacum* trees: wee saw the goodliest tall trees growing so thicke about the garden, as though they had beene set by Art, which made us marvell very much to see it.

Bath at Mevis.

Commodities there.

"The third day, wee set saile from *Mevis*: the fourth day we sailed along by Castutia and by Saba: This day we anchored at the Ile of Virgines, in an excellent Bay able to harbour a hundred ships: if this Bay

Aprill.

stood in England, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of fresh-fish, and abundance of Sea Tortoises, which served all our Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle, wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon; and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee have seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Tortoises.

"Upon the sixt day, we set saile and passed by Becam, and by Saint *John deportorico*. The seventh day, we arrived at Mona: where wee watered, which we stood in great need of, seeing that our water did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it. Whilst some of the saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine, and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers marched up in the Ile sixe miles, thinking to find some other provision to maintaine our victualling; as wee marched we killed two wild Bores, and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. Wee also killed Guanas, in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade under the belly. These wayes that wee went, being so troublesome and vilde going upon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march, but by good fortune wee lost none but one Edward Brookes, gentleman, whose fat melted within him by the great heate and drought of the Countrey; we were not able to relieve him nor ourselves, so he died in that great extreamitie.

Mevis water unwholesome.

Ed. Brookes faint with thirst.

"The ninth day in the after noone, we went off with our Boat to the Ile of Moneta, some three leagues from Mona, where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting up to the top of the Mountaine or Ile, being a high firme Rocke step, with many terrible sharpe stones: After wee got to the top of the Ile, we

Moneta.

found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, abundance of Fowles of all kindes, they flew over our heads as thicke as drops of Hale; besides they made such a noise, that we were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse: wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing.

Store of Fowles.

"The tenth day [of April] we set saile and disimboged out of the West Indies, and bare our course Northerly. The fourteenth day we passed the Tropicke of Cancer. The one and twentieth day, about five a clocke at night there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because wee thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day wee sounded; and the three and twentieth and foure and twenteth day, but we could find no ground. The five and twentieth day we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom. The six and twentieth day of Aprill about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia: the same day wee entred into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without any let or hinderance; there wee landed and discovered a little way, but we could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight there of.

We were driven to try that night, and by the storme were forced neere the shoare, not knowing where we were.

They land in Virginia.

"At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Savages creeping upon all foure, from the Hills like Beares, with their Bowes in their mouthes, charged us very desperately in the faces, hurt Captaine Gabrill Archer in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left us.

"The seven and twentieth day we began to build up our shallop: the gentlemen and souldiers marched eight miles up into the Land, we could not see a Savage in all that march, we came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beene newly a roasting Oysters: when they perceived our coming, they fled away to the Mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire: we eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

"The [28th] day we lanched our shallop, the Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discovered up the Bay, we found a River on the South side running into the Maine; we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim: We went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground where we went on Land, and found the place five mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree, we saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was five and fortie foot long by the Rule. Upon this plot of ground we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones: wee opened some and found in many of them Pearles. Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes and found that the Savages had beene there burning downe the grasse, as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to give signes to bring their forces together, and so to give us battell. We passed through excellent ground full of Flowers of divers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I have seene, as cedar, cipresse, and other kindes: going a little further we came into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull strawberries, foure times bigger and better than ours in England. All this march we could neither see Savage nor Towne. When it grew to be towards night we stood backe to our ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put us out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the River. Wee rowed

Strawberries.

over to a point of Land, where wee found a channell, and sounded six, eight, ten or twelve fathom: which put us in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Comfort.

Point Comfort.

"The nine and twentieth day we set up a Crosse at Chesupioc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry. Thirtieth day, we came with our ships to Cape Comfort; where wee saw five savages running on the shoare; presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned, so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship, but they were at first very timersome, until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart: upon that they laid down their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to us, making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Savages Kecoughtan. Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing over a River running into the maine, where these Savages swam over with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes.

Kecoughtan.

"When we came over to the other side, there was a many of other Savages which directed us to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke that they had beene at their idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid upon the ground, the chiefest of them sate all in a rank; the meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had, and of their bread which they make of their Maiz or Gennea wheat, they would not suffer us to eat unlesse we sate down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After we were well satisfied they gave us of their Tobacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted us, they shewed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: One of the Savages standing in the

Tobacco.

midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolves or Devils. One thing of them I observed; when they were in their dance they kept stroke with their feet just one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces, and bodies, every one of them had a severall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Captaine gave them Beades and other trifling Jewells. They hang through their eares fowles legs: they shave the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long tied up with an artificiall knot, with a many of Fowles feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their privities are covered with Beasts skinnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth: some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry lively colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye, in a braver fashion then they in the West Indies. Singing and dancing.

[The 1st, 2d, and 3d of May seem to be omitted.]

"The fourth day of May, we came to the King or Werowance of Paspihe: where they entertained us with much welcome; an Old Savage made a long Oration, making a foule noise, uttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant. Whilst we were in company with the Paspihes, the Werowance of Rapahanna came from the other side of the River in his Cannoa; he seemed to take displeasure of our being with the Paspihes: he would faine have had us come to his Towne, the Captaine was unwilling; seeing that the day was so far spent he returned backe to his ships for that night. A long Oration.

"The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of Rapahanna sent a Messenger to have us come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gave him trifles which pleased him: Wee manned our shallop with Mus-

kets and Targatiers sufficiently; this said Messenger guided us where our determination was to goe. When wee landed, the Werowance of Rapahanna came downe to the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I have seene of Savages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire colloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson with a chaine of Beads about his necke, his face painted blew, besprinkled with silver Ore as wee thought, his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle, and in either eare a Birds claw through it beset with fine Copper or Gold, he entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of civill government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behaviour; he caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Majestie, taking a pipe of Tobacco: the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested a while he rose, and made signes to us to come to his Towne: Hee went formost, and all the rest of his people and our selves followed him up a steepe Hill where his Palace was settled. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, having most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines: Wee also went through the goodliest corne fieldes that ever was seene in any countrey. When we came to Rapahannos Towne, hee entertained us in good humanitie.

A Flute made of a Reed.

[6th and 7th of May omitted?]

"The eight day of May we discovered up the River. We landed in the countrey of Apamatica, at our landing, there came many stout and able Savages to resist us with their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backes beset with sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest

CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER CARLEILL

one of the chiefest standing before them crosse-legged, with his Arrowe readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech, demanding of us our being there, willing us to bee gone. Wee made signs of peace, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietnesse.

[9th, 10th, and 11th of May omitted?]

"The twelfth day we went backe to our ships, and discovered a point of Land called Archer's Hope, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend ourselves against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines in bignesse of a man's thigh, running up to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. Archer's Hope.

"We also did see many squirels, conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and divers other Fowles and Birds of divers and sundrie collours of crimson, watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry, and of divers other hewes naturally without any art using. We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges. . . . If it had not beene disliked, because the ship could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

"The Thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in Paspihas countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before; where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

"The fourteenth we landed all our men which were set to worke about the fortifications and others to watch and ward as it was convenient. The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Savages sayling close to our quarter; presently there was an alarum given; upon that the savages ran away, and we not troubled any more by them that night. Not long after there came two Savages that seemed to be Commanders, bravely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire upon their heads, which came as Messengers from the Werowance of Their Plantation at James-Towne.

Paspihe; telling us that their Werowance was comming and would be merry with us with a fat Deare.

"The eighteenth day, the Werowance of Paspihe came himselfe to our quarter; with one hundred Savages armed, which garded him in very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes, thinking at that time to execute their villany. Paspiha made great signes to us to lay our Arms away. But we would not trust him so far: he seeing he could not have convenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would give us as much land as we would desire to take. As the Savages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him over the arme: presently another Savage seeing that, came fiercely at our man with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his brains. The Werowance of Paspiha saw us take to our Armes, went suddenly away with all his company in great anger.

Land given.

These Savages are naturally great theeves.

"The nineteenth day, myselfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods by chance wee espied a path-way like to an Irish pace; wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring us; wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, having the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing over with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in England. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits unknowne: wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees, which issues out sweet Gummes like to Balsam: wee kept on our way in this Paradise, at length wee came to a Savage Towne, where wee found but few people, they told us the rest were gone a hunting with the Werowance of Paspiha: We stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries, and other things; in the meane time one of the Savages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes and ranne mainly through the Woods: then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to

call some companie, and so betray us, wee made all the haste away wee could: One of the Savages brought us on the way to the Woodside, where there was a Garden of Tobacco, and other fruits and herbes, he gathered Tobacco, and distributed to every one of us, so wee departed.

"The twentieth day the Werowance of Paspiha sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter: but they came more in villanie than any love they bare us; they faine would have layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery. One of our Gentlemen having a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a flight shot, hee set it up against a tree, willing one of the Savages to shoot; who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long,[1] drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better: which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him up a steele Target; he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pieces, he presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage, so hee went away in great anger. Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially. Pasphia was as good as his word; for hee sent Venison, but the Sawse came within a few dayes after.

Their arrowes.

. . . . . .

"At Port cotage in our Voyage up the River, we saw a Savage Boy about the age of ten yeares, which had a head of haire of perfect yellow and a reasonable white skinne, which is a Miracle amongst all Savages.

Yellow haired Virginian.

. . . . . .

[1] Purchas refers to this incident in his Pilgrimage of 1614, p. 671; but I do not think that Percy's Discourse was at his service until after Hakluyt's death.

"This River which wee have discovered is one of the famousest Rivers that ever was found by any Christian, it ebbes and flowes a hundred and threescore miles where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Wheresoever we landed upon this River, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypresse, Walnuts, Sassafras and Vines in great abundance, which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees unknowne, and all the grounds bespred with Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries and Fruits unknowne, there are many branches of this River, which runne flowing through the Woods with great plentie of Fish of all kindes, as for Sturgeon all the World cannot be compared to it. In this countrey I have seene many great and large Medowes * having excellent good pasture for any Cattle. There is also great store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Bevers, Muskats, and wild beasts unknowne.

River of Powhatan.

* Low Marshes.

. . . . . .

"The foure and twentieth day [May] we set up a Crosse at the head of this River, naming it Kings River, where we proclaimed James King of England to have the most right unto it. When wee had finished and set up our Crosse, we shipt our men and made for James Fort. By the way wee came to Pohatans Towre where the Captaine went on shore suffering none to goe with him, hee presented the Commander of this place with a Hatchet which he tooke joyfully, and was well pleased.

Wee came down the River.

"But yet the Savages murmured at our planting in the Countrie, whereupon this Werowance made answere againe very wisely of a Savage, Why should you bee offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take anything away by force, they take but a litle waste ground, which doth you nor any of us any good.

"I saw Bread made by their women which doe all their drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and

their warres, which they are in continually one Kingdome against another. The manner of baking of bread is thus, after they pound their wheat into flowre with hote water, they make it into paste, and worke it into round balls and cakes, then they put it into a pot of seething water, when it is sod throughly, they lay it on a smooth stone, there they harden it as well as in an Oven. Bread how made.

"There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids, the Maids you shall alwayes see the fore part of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and is tied of that fashion that the Maids are. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a sharpe Iron, which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish, or Beasts, then with paintings of sundry lively colours, they rub it into the stampe which will never be taken away, because it is dried into the Flesh where it is sered. Distinct habit of Maids and Wives.

"The Savages beare their yeeres well, for when wee were at Pamonkies, wee saw a Savage by their report was above eight score yeeres of age. His eyes were sunke into his head, having never a tooth in his mouth, his haire all gray with a reasonable bigge beard, which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Savage have any haire on their faces, I never saw, read, nor heard, any have the like before. This Savage was as lustie and went as fast as any of us, which was strange to behold. Savage 160 yeeres old. Bearded.

. . . . . .

"The fifteenth day of June, we had built and finished our Fort which was triangle wise, having three Bulwarkes at every corner like a halfe Moone, and foure or five pieces of Artillerie mounted in them, we had made ourselves sufficiently strong for these Savages, we had also sowne most of our Corne on two Mountaines, it sprang a mans

height from the ground, this countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodlie and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedars, Cypresse, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

. . . . . .

Cap. Newports departure.

"Munday the two and twentieth of June, in the morning Captaine Newport in the Admirall departed from James Port for England.

. . . . . .

"Captaine Newport being gone for England, leaving us (one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Savages. We hoped after a supply which Captaine Newport promised within twentie weekes. . . . But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further us, the country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to the Realme of England, as the Indies to the King of Spaine. If this River which wee have found had beene discovered in the time of warre with Spaine, it would have beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies.

. . . . . .

"The seven and twentieth of July the King of Rapahanna, demanded a Canoa which was restored, lifted up his hand to the Sunne, which they worship as their God, besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our speciall friend. It is a general rule of these people when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keepe their Oath better upon this promise. These people have a great reverence to the Sunne above all other things at the rising and setting of the same, they sit downe lifting up their hands and eyes to the Sunne making a round circle on the ground with dried Tobacco, then they began to pray making many Devillish gestures with a Hellish noise foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The Savages use to Sacrifice to the Sunne.

. . . . . .

"The sixt of August there died John Asbie of the bloudie Flixe. The ninth day died George Flowre of the swelling. The tenth day died William Bruster gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day. The fourteenth day, Jerome Alikock, Ancient, died of a wound, the same day Francis Mid-winter, Edward Moris Corporall died suddenly.

"The fifteenth day, their died Edward Browne and Stephen Galthrope. The sixteenth day, their died Thomas Gower gentleman. The seventeenth day, their died Thomas Mounslie. The eighteenth day, theer died Robert Pennington, and John Martine Gentleman. The nineteenth day died Drue Piggase gentleman.

"The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold one of our Councell, he was honourably buried having all the Ordance in the Fort shot off with many vollies of small shot. Death of Cap. Bar. Gosnold.

"After Captaine Gosnols death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine Kendall, which afterward was committed about hainous matters which was proved against him.

"The foure and twentieth day, died Edward Harrington and George Walker, and were buried the same day. The sixe and twentieth day, died Kenelme Throgmortine. The seven and twentieth day died William Roods. The eight and twentieth day died Thomas Stoodie, Cape Merchant.

"The fourth day of September died Thomas Jacob Sergeant. The fift day, there died Benjamin Beast.

. . . . . .

"Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Flixes, Burning fevers, and by Warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia. Wee watched every three nights lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soever came; Miserable famine.

warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches, our food was but a small can of Barlie sod in water to five men a day, our drinke cold water taken out of the River, which was at a flood verie Salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five months in this miserable distresse, not having five able men to man our Bulwarkes upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the Savages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittifull murmurings & outcries of our sick men without reliefe every night and day for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the mornings their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this sort did I see the mortalitie of divers of our people.

"It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies to releeve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by divers Kings in the Countrie, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort.

Gods goodnesse.

. . . . . .

"The eleventh day [September], there was certaine Articles laid against Master Wingfield which was then President, thereupon he was not only displaced out of his Presidentship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captaine John Ratcliffe was chosen President.

. . . . . .

"The eighteenth day, died one Ellis Kinistone which was starved to death with cold. The same day at night, died one Richard Simmons. The nineteenth day, there died one Thomas Mouton." . . .

He was a mad man.

XLVIII. WHITE'S DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA.

"A Description of Virginia by William White. H."

This is one of Hakluyt's manuscripts which came into the hands of the Rev. Samuel Purchas, who has only preserved enough of it to make us wish to know more. In his fourth volume, p. 1690, he says: "William White (having lived with the natives) reported to us of their customes in the morning by break of day, before they eate or drinke both men, women and children, that be above tenne yeeres of age runnes into the water, there washes themselves a good while till the Sunne riseth, then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the Water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God, likewise they doe at the setting of the Sunne." Here Purchas breaks off, adding in his side-note, "The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smith's relations," and then proceeds to give (pp. 1691–1704) "The description of Virginia by Captaine John Smith," etc. However, he gives a few other extracts from White in vol. v. pp. 841–843, describing the Indian feasts, rites, etc., from which it seems that the descriptions of White and Smith ran somewhat in similar channels. White "also relateth that one George Casson was sacrificed as they thought, to the Divell, being stripped naked and bound to two stakes, with his backe against a great fire; then did they rip him, and burne his bowels, and dryed his flesh to the bones."

If the principle that "a half loaf is better than no bread" holds good in the matter of preserving historical data, we must be thankful to Purchas, but I do not think the way he pruned and cut short the valuable manuscripts, preserved so carefully by Hakluyt, deserving of much thankfulness.

XLIX. WINGFIELD'S DISCOURSE.

Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," which was evidently addressed to his Majesty's Council for Virginia, under whose authority he acted, in defense of his course while President of the Council in Virginia, was probably delivered soon after his return to England in May, 1608. This discourse was not printed at that time. Rev. James S. M. Anderson found it in the Lambeth Library, and used it in compiling his "History of the Church of England in the Colonies," published in London in 1845. A *verbatim et literatim* copy was obtained by Mr. Charles Deane, LL. D. in 1859 or 1860, and it was first published in full by the American Antiquarian Society in 1860, edited with notes and an introduction by Dr. Deane, who also printed one hundred copies of the work separately. In his notes, Dr. Deane calls in question for the first time the accuracy of Smith's story of his rescue by Pocahontas. Mr. Jefferson speaks of the style of Smith's history as "barbarous and uncouth;" Burk calls it "a sort of epic history or romance." Dr. Palfrey had serious doubts concerning Smith as a trustworthy historian; but I believe Dr. Deane was the first to suggest an intelligent analysis of his writings for freeing our early history from the meshes of *his* fable.

I do not think the MS. of XLIX. in the Lambeth Library is the finished document, but probably the first rough draft of Wingfield's ideas, which were afterwards put into better order and shape, properly addressed, signed and handed to his Majesty's Council for Virginia. My reasons for thinking so are: —

First. The address is incomplete.

Second. It is not signed.

Third. There are several blanks for dates and other matter, and the narrative bears other evidences of not having received the author's "finishing touches." And fourthly, I believe that none of the original papers of his Majesty's Council for Virginia have been found.

First Baron Carleton

The Lambeth Library was probably founded by Archbishop Bancroft (in 1610) who left by will "to his successors the Archbishops of Canterbury, forever, a greate and famous library," etc. After Wingfield had sent the finished document to his Majesty's Council for Virginia, he may have given his first draft to Bancroft, as the Archbishop is mentioned in the instrument. The following is the letter introducing the Discourse: —

"RIGHT WORP^ULL AND MORE WORTHY —

"My due respect to yourselves, my allegiance (if I may so terme it) to the Virginean action, my good heed to my poore reputac̄on, thrust a penne into my handes, so jealous am I to be missing to any of them. If it wandereth in extravagantes, yet shall they not bee idle to those physitions whose loves have undertaken the saftie and advancement of Virginia.

"It is no small comfort that I speake before such gravitie, whose judgement no forrunner can forestall with any opprobrious untruths, whose wisedomes can easily disroabe malice out of her painted garments from the ever reverenced truth.

"I did so faithfully betroth my best endeavours to this noble enterprize, as my carriage might endure no suspition. I never turned my face from daunger, or hidd my handes from labour; so watchfull a sentinel stood myself to myself. I know wel, a troope of errors continually beseege men's actions; some of them ceased on by malice, some by ignorance. I doe not hoodwinck my carriage in my self love, but freely and humblie submit it to your grave censures.

"I do freely and truely anatomize the governement and governours, that your experience may applie medicine accordinglie; and upon the truth of this journal do pledge my faith and life, and so do rest

"Yours to command in all service."

See the Discourse as printed in "Archæologia Americana," vol. iv. pp. 77–103. (See also the note on LIV.) It relates to events in Virginia from June 22, 1607, to April 10, 1608.

L. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 111.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the king of Spain, dated London, June 16 or 26, 1608.

"SIRE: —

"of what is going on here concerning Virginia I have reported to Y. M. Captain Newport has returned and brought a few things of small importance, so that it is more clearly seen that the main thing they find to do in that place is to fortify themselves and to sail as pirates from there. They are in the greatest strait for money that can be imagined, and yet in spite of that they have managed to secure some means with which to send out again this Newport with two good ships and their crews, and they will leave here in two months, since they are already preparing themselves. He has selected people of better quality than those there and as they call them to rob, all of them go very willingly. I have a letter which one of those who are there writes to a friend of his and it has appeared to me well to send it so that Y. M. may see the progress they make and the way they are living there (LI.).

"This Newport brought a little boy,[1] who they say is the son of an Emperor of those Countries, and they have instructed him that when he saw the King, he should not take off his hat, and other things of the same kind, so that it has amused me to see how they esteem him, thinking it much more certain that he must be a very ordinary person.

"Our Lord" etc.

[1] Namontack.

LI. LETTER FROM FRANCIS PERKINS [?].

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIOS 112, 113.

Copy of a letter which is quoted in another written by Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated June 16, 1608, and is inclosed in that. On the envelope [containing this letter] is said: "Carta of Virginia to be sent to His Majesty."

"March 28th. — Most Illustrious Sir:[1] — After my due respects to you, with thanks for the many favors which you have done me, and the trouble you have taken on my account, I being unable to repay them except by praying God and desiring to serve you in every way that I can, I venture to beg of you another favor on the occasion which at this time presents itself, altho' I have given you just cause to abandon me by not taking leave of so good a friend as you have always been to me on the occasion of my departure. But the confidence I feel in your unfailing kindness will excuse me this time, since that neglect arose only from fear of some impediment in this my long-desired journey. I shall not fail, however, to make amends in part at least for this mistake, because if I do not succeed in securing your favor and in making my peace with "Madama," securing in my absence the success of my wishes, of which I had occasion to speak in petition to you before I left, so much more time being given to solicit this business in person, the whole matter will turn to my great prejudice and injury, but trusting entirely your usual kindness, I pray you will have the goodness to negotiate with Mess^rs. William Wade, Tomas Smith, Walter Cope, Thomas Chancellor[2] (Chaloner), George More, and the

[1] The name of the person addressed is not given, but it was probably some member of the Cornwallis household. See the Cornwallis biographies.

[2] In converting these documents first into Zuñiga's cipher, then having them deciphered for the benefit of Philip III. into old Spanish script, there is necessarily some confusion in the words, etc., sometimes, and this is, especially the case with the English names, which nearly always "come

others, that I be appointed one of the Council here in Virginia, as much for my honor as that I may be better able to pay my debts. There are some of the Members of the Council here, who understand State-affairs as little as I do and who are no better than I. It will be a matter of great delight to see coming here so many from our Country, so richly gifted and enlightened that I would not be worthy to appear among them.

"Concerning our Voyage and my views of the Country, I will state them to you as well as I can. We left Gravesend on Thursday, October 8. 1607. We reached Plymouth the following Thursday, where we remained 'till Monday, and as the wind was not favorable it became necessary on the next day to make port at Falmouth, where until Friday morning we suffered much from a great storm, after which, continuing our voyage; in five weeks and two days (Nov. 29.) we reached the island of Sancto Domingo, which is in the West Indies, and we were there all that day, trafficking with the Savages, who came on board naked, bringing us potatoes, plantains, pine apples, which are a very savory fruit, bread which they call "casadra" made of certain roots, parrots, cocks and hens, and other things, which they gave us in exchange for iron-hatchets, saws, knives, rosaries, bells and other similar trifles which they esteem very highly, and are of great usefulness to those who carry them with them in like voyages; — and thus sailing along the coasts the whole week past the other neighboring islands, we came near the Island of San Juan towards the Northern part, and fourteen days later, on Sunday (Dec. 20), we came in sight of America. On the following Thursday (Dec. 24) the Ship that kept us company, called the Phœnix, came to lose us in a very dense fog which rose when we were not more than ten or twelve leagues from the entrance to the port and we have not been able up to today to hear any news about it. There were in that ship about forty

out twisted" and are seldom given to give the right names whenever I perfectly correct. I have attempted can do so with any certainty.

men, who were to remain here with us. The ship called the John and Francis, in which Captain Newport was, came on the 2d of January to Jamestown. The river is very beautiful and wide, but full of shallows and piles of oystershells. The land lies low and is full of wood until you reach the coast. [At first] we always had warm weather; afterwards such bitter colds and such severe frosts that I and several others had our feet frost bitten. A month after this we came to a land where there was also great frost and snow. The country around there has a great abundance of wild swans, herons and cranes, wild ducks and other water fowl, with many other birds, as long as the winter continues, with the prettiest parrots that can be seen. So excessive are the frosts, that one night the river froze over almost from bank to bank, in front of our harbour, although it was there as wide as that of London. There died from the $\frac{\text{ice}}{\text{frost}}$ some fish in the river, which when taken out after the $\frac{\text{ice}}{\text{frost}}$ was over, were very good and so fat that they could be fried in their own fat without adding any butter or such thing. After our landing — which took place on a Monday (January 4.) there broke out on the following Thursday (January 7.) such a fire that, growing rapidly, it consumed all the buildings of the fort, and the storehouse of ammunition and provision, so that there remained only three, and all that my son and I possessed was burnt, except only a mattress which had not yet been carried on shore. Thanks to God we are at peace with all the neighbouring inhabitants of the country and trade with them in wheat and provisions. They attach very great value to copper which looks at all reddish. Their own great Emperor, or the "Vuarravance" which is the name of their Kings, has sent us some of his people, that they may teach us how to sow the grain of this country and to make certain *tools* [traps?] with which they *are going to fish* [catch fish?]. And certainly, as far as may be conjectured there is a great probability, that the land is very fertile and good, quite sufficient to support a million

of inhabitants in that part which we now occupy; but it is more in clearing out the wood than in the multiplying of the grain that difficulty arises. I have sent to "Madama," *your wife*, a pair of tortoises, others to "Madama Catalina," and others to William Cornwallis, hoping that when our people make another excursion, I shall have better things to send. I send you an ear of the grain as it grows here, with two bales of our ordinary "flora," and other two to "Madama Catalina," and others to Mr. William [Cornwallis?] the elder. There are found there, many small animals with savory [*illegible*] inside (opossum?); when I meet any by chance I shall send them to you, that you and your friends may see them. There is here the greatest abundance of pasturage for any kind of cattle, especially for pigs and goats, even if there were a million of them. There is also to be found all around the fort, where we have cut down the trees a great quantity of strawberries and other plants pleasant to the taste. And, sir, considering that this misfortune of the fire has caused among us a general want of almost all things, especially as far as I am concerned, having suffered much during these past two years — so much in fact, that I have not even paper and ink to write to our friends! I beseech you to prevent *see to it that* "Madama Catalina" from getting *be not* angry with me, but that, yielding to the natural nobility of her heart and to the affection she has been pleased to show me in the past, she will endeavour, jointly with you and Mr. William Cornwallis most earnestly to recommend my claim to be admitted [to the council in Virginia?] especially with Mr. *William* [Thos.?] Smith, since he can do more in matters concerning this State, than anyone else. I beg also Madama Catalina will have the kindness to get Mr. William Cornwallis to send me for the value of ten pounds, such clothes as he may have that are worn out, whether it be large or small garments, doublets, trousers, stockings, capes, or whatever may appear fit to them, since the fire having burnt all we possessed, everything is needed and whatever may be sent

will be useful. I beg also you will ask Madama Catalina to negotiate in conformity with the same arrangement, with Mr. William "Sans,"[1] since I promise I will return to them the value of whatever they may send me, whilst I acknowledge that by her kindness and that of these gentlemen I and my people are still alive — and even if this should fall short of supplying the wants of so many, will "Madama" and those gentlemen do me and my son, at least, this favor out of their liberality to send us such things as are of little use to them and most valuable to myself. I beseech you, Sir, not to be offended by this my candor and daring boldness, but in your great kindness to remember me who am so far away and cut off from my friends, doing me at the same time the favor, in all reasonable things to be kind to my wife, if in any emergency she should have recourse to you. I pray you will communicate the contents of this letter to "Madama Catalina," and let her read it all, if it so please her. And herewith I most humbly commit myself to your protection and that of those gentlemen, in whose kindness and favor I put my entire confidence. I pray God may protect you and all.

"March 28, 1608. Your servant for life.

"Francis Perquin [Perkins?]

"of Villa James in Virginia."

[Mem. — I have only found one letter from Zuñiga (that of June $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{8}$ L. and the inclosure LI.) written at this time; but it is evident from the letter of Philip III. of July $\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{9}$, (LIII.) that he also wrote others, namely, of June $\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{7}$, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{3}\frac{2}{4}$, and sent them all to the King of Spain by Special Messenger Rivas. The news brought by Newport (May 20) evidently caused a stir in the South Virginia Company and they were hastening his return. The

[1] I am not certain who "Mr. William *Sans*" was.

Newport arrived at Jamestown on Saturday evening January 2, landed on Monday, the 4th, and Jamestown was burnt on Thursday, the 7th. The date given in Wingfield's Discourse (*Archæologia Americana*, iv. p. 92) as "the viijth of January" should be I am sure "the iiijth of January."

North Virginia Company were also preparing to send Captain Davis back to that Colony. Both companies were very busy, and evidently Zuñiga and his agents were busy also. When Captain John Smith returned from his captivity in January, 1608, he brought certain news of a ready way, through the North of Virginia, about the fortieth degree of northerly latitude, to the great South Sea, and this news created excitement in the Virginia Companies. Early in July, Captain Francis Nelson, who had left Virginia June 2, arrived in England in the Phœnix. Captaine John Martin returned with him. He brought Captain John Smith's "True Relation" (LIV.), the chart (LVII.); and other documents, letters, etc., now probably lost forever.

The exact date of Captain Newport's return to Virginia is not known to me; but I believe that he sailed almost immediately after Captain Nelson's return to England. The following extracts from memoranda (1607–1608) of Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, probably relate to this voyage: "For apparel for Mr. George Percy £9. 2s. 4d, sent by Captain Newport." "For the rings and other pieces of copper given to the *Virginia Prince* 3s." "To *Mr. Melshawe* for many necessaries which *he delivered* to Mr. Percy toward the building of a house in Virginia, 14s."

Newport also carried at this time to the Virginia Prince, Powhatan, "rich presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Clothes and a Crowne" from the Virginia Company. He went prepared to attempt the way to the South Sea. I have found none of the letters, documents, etc., taken by Newport on this voyage, mentioned in LXIV. He sailed in the Mary and Margaret, a ship of about one hundred and fifty tons, which, like most of the vessels on former voyages, was in the service of the Russia Company; she was afterwards, in the summer of 1611, "shipwrecked by Ice," in the North Sea in the latitude of seventy-nine degrees. Captain Richard Waldo and Captain Peter Wynne were sent over at this

time as additional members for the Council in Virginia. July 5, Sir John Gilbert died of the small-pox, and it seems that soon after his death (exact date not known to me) "Capt. Davies set out from Topsam, the Port town of Exiter, with a ship laden full of victualls, arms, instruments and tools &c for the North Virginia Colony; set forth by Sir Francis Popham, certaine of his private friends, and others of the Virginia Council." None of the documents carried over by him are known to me.]

LII. CHAMBERLAIN TO CARLETON.

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, JAMES I. VOLUME 35, NUMBER 13.

"John Chamberlain Esq to Dudley Carleton Esq.

"SIR:—

"I cannot but commend your memorie. . . . On Tuesday I went with the Lady Fanshaw (Sir Tho^{s} Smythe's sister) and other good Company to visit Cope Castle [now Holland House] at Kinsington and calling in at the strand, we took the little Betty and the infant Norris along with us. We had the honour to see all, but touch nothing, not so much as a cherry, which are charily preserved for the Queen's coming. I took my leave of him yesterday; and upon some mention of you he made this short reply, that your books were very well accepted, and that he would ever slip no opportunity to do you service. He (Sir Walter Cope) grows more and more into the great lord; and it is conceived that if any place should fall, whereof Sir Caesar were capable, he should presently step into his room, and bear the burden of the exchequer business.

"The New Bourse at Durham House goes up apace. . . .

"The marriage of the Young Lord Cranborne with the Lord Chamberlain's daughter is thoroughly concluded and the books sealed.

"Staples, one of our great merchants, died the last week

very suddenly, as he was sitting down to supper, and *Sir John Gilbert two days since of the smallpox.*

"Here is a ship (the Phœnix) newly come from Virginia that hath been long missing. She went out the last year, in consort with Captain Newport, and after much wandering, found the port three or four days after his departure for England. I hear not of any novelties or other commodities she hath brought more than sweet wood.

"Sir Horace Vere, coming out of the Low Countries to conduct his lady, met her on Saturday at Rochester, and went back presently.

"These contracts and cross marriages 'twixt France and Spain trouble both them and us. . . .

"The King's Progress holds on towards Northamptonshire, as unwelcome to those parts, as rain in harvest, so as the great ones begin to dislodge: the Lord Spencer to his daughter Vane in Kent; and divers other gentlemen devise other errands other ways.

"From London this 7th of July 1608.

"Yours most assuredly

"John Chamberlain."

Addressed: "To my assured goode Frend Master Dudley Carleton. geve these at Eaton."

LIII. PHILIP III. TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 245.

Copy of a rough draft of a deciphered letter of H. M. to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated Lerma, July 29, 1608.

"By Rivas have been received all your letters of June 26, 27 & 28 last and of the 3rd of this month, to which a reply will reach you in this letter. There is announced the arrival of Captain Newport from Virginia — the importance which is there attached to that Island — and most of what

THOMAS CANDISH ARMIGER
Animum forma
sequatur

you say in that connection — and I shall be glad, if informing yourself through really practical men from that country, you will give me a special and detailed account of the position and location of that Island — the time when it was discovered and by whom — the harbours to be found there and their capacity — the countries which they can reach from there — with the climate — and everything else that concerns it — and you will briefly report of it all."

LIV. SMITH'S RELATION.

August 13 there was entered at Stationer's Hall for publication, by "John Tappe, printer and William Welby bookseller at the sign of the Greyhound, in Paules Churchyard. A booke called A True Relatione of such occurrences and accidents of note as have hapened in Virginia synce the first plantinge of that colonye, which is now resident in the South parte of Virginia, till Master Nelson's comminge Away from them," etc. It was probably a letter. It begins thus: "Kinde Sir, commendations remembred," etc. Who the "Kinde Sir" was to whom it was addressed is not certainly known. It was printed with the running title, at the top of each page, "Newes from Virginia." It is the only one of Smith's works published by a stationer who was personally interested in the Virginia enterprises. William Welby afterwards became the publisher for the Virginia Company of London, and on the 1st of October, 1610, he assigned his interest in this tract to Michael Baker, who was not interested in Virginia. It was the first account of the Virginia colony published to the world. For cogent reasons it was not "Published by Authoritie of his Majesties Counsell of Virginia."

Original copies of this tract are preserved in the following Libraries in America, namely, Charles Deane, Harvard College, S. L. M. Barlow, Carter-Brown, New York Historical Society (2), Lenox (3), and Charles H. Kalbfleisch.

The copy which was sold at Sotheby's, London, April 5, 1882, for £57, I am quite sure was bought by Mr. Kalbfleisch, and this is the latest sale which I have noted.

It was reprinted in the "Southern Literary Messenger" for February, 1845, at Richmond, Va., also by Mr. Charles Deane, LL. D., with a preface and notes, Boston, 1866, and this is the best reprint, that in the "Messenger" being very imperfect. It is also, of course, included in Mr. Arber's reprint of Captain Smith's works, 1884.

[Mem. — There had been great suffering, and many misfortunes had happened in Virginia, and as a result there was much trouble in the council. Ratcliffe, Martin, and Smith had removed Wingfield, not only from the presidency, but from the council also, and had elected Ratcliffe president. Archer was afterwards taken into the council, and under his leadership, it seems, Smith was about to be hanged for allowing the Indians to kill and secure the bodies of several of his men; but in the midst of the turmoil Captain Newport arrived and "pored oil on the troubled waters." XLIX. is Wingfield's account of his case. LIV. is Smith's account of his stewardship. Archer presented his side of the case, but this account has not been found, and I suppose Percy in XLVII. also gave an account; but if so, Purchas suppressed it. XLIX. and LIV. are both *ex parte* evidence. However, XLIX. is evidently addressed to the proper authorities, and the author pledges to them on his faith and his life, the truth of his journal. While LIV. is addressed by the author to some unknown friend of his in England, and it was published without authority from the council and erroneously, as "written by Th: Watson gent." As an offsett for the loss of his men, Smith tells in LIV. of what he had learned of the nearness of the great South Sea, and this was a balm apt to heal all wounds at that time. I think LIV. leaves a more favorable impression than Smith's later works; it is true that he does not conceal his good opinion of himself, but his vanity and his

injustice to others increased with his age. It may be said that no one could now attempt to venture a decision on the points in question regarding the troubles in Virginia, unless they had all the evidence before them; but I am sure the council of Virginia were amply able to decide these matters then, and I think we should abide by their decision.

The whole of LIV. was not printed. As published it relates mainly to events in Virginia from April 26, 1607, to June 2, 1608. See also my remarks on LVII.]

LV. REPORT OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL.

"The King of Spain sent from Madrid (on the 16th August, 1608) to his Ambassador in England, the Report of The Spanish Council of State, giving the reasons for sending to the galleys the English who in 1606 were taken in the West Indies." That is, the remainder of Challons' crew who had not escaped from Spain.

This reached England by way of Flanders about August 31 (O. S.), being about twenty-five days on the way.

LVI. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 145.

Copy of an original letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated *Higuete* [Highgate?], September 10, 1608.

"SIRE: —

"I have thought proper to send Y. M. a plan of Virginia (LVII.) and another of the Fort (LVIII.) which the English have erected there, together with a *report* (LIX.) given me by a person who has been there. Still, I am trying to learn more and I shall report about it. I received just now, by way of Flanders, the letter which Y. M. was pleased to command to be written to me on the 16th of last

month, with the Report which contains the reasons then existing for sending to the galleys the English, who in 1606 were found in our waters, and I shall make such use of it as I am commanded by Y. M. Whose Catholic and Royal person God preserve as all Christendom requires it.

"At *Higuete* [Highgate?] September 10. 1608.

"DON PEDRO DE ZUÑIGA."

LVII. CHART OF VIRGINIA.

This chart must have been sent to England by Captain Francis Nelson, who left Virginia June 2, 1608. It is not drawn to an exact scale; but on comparing it with XLVI. made about the same time, and with CLVIII., it seems to have been drawn on the basis of about five miles, or say 1½ leagues to an inch. It illustrates Captain John Smith's "True Relation" (LIV.), and was sent from Virginia with it. The "Relation" was published in August 1608; but I have never seen an engraving of this chart. I am convinced that copies of this "Relation" and of this chart were taken to Holland by Captain Henry Hudson in the latter part of 1608, and that they are referred to by Hudson as "letters and charts which one Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, by which he (Smith) informed him (Hudson) that there was a sea leading into the Western Ocean by the North of the Southern English Colony," about the latitude of forty degrees. On December 29, 1608 (O. S.), Captain Hudson, with the information derived by him in his native England, entered into a contract with the Dutch. We have here, with this chart in Spain and with Hudson in Holland with Smith's letters and charts, another strong illustration of the great necessity the Virginia Company was under to keep close its charts, records, etc., and the great danger to them which might result by having in their official service one through whom such things reached outsiders.

The legends on the chart: —

"Here remayneth 4 *men* clothed that came from Roonock to Ocanahawan."

LIV. says: "What he knew of the Dominions he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me." — and "Many Kingdomes hee (Powhatan) described to me. . . . The people clothed at Ocamahowan, he alsoe confirmed."

CCXVII. says: "Where at Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen, by the relation of Machumps, the people have howses built with stone walles, and one story above another, so taught them by those Englishe whoe escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at what tyme this our Colony, under the conduct of Captain Newport, landed within the Chesapeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkeis about their howses, and take apes in the mountaines, and where at Ritanoe, the Weroance Eyanoco preserved seven of the English alive — *fower men*, two boyes and one yonge mayde, (who escaped [the massacre?] and fled up the river of Chanoke) — to beat his copper, of which he hath certaine mynes at the said Ritanoe, as also at Pamawank are said to be store of salt stones." There is the following side-note in Strachey: "Howses of stone, tame Turkyes, and Monkyes, supposed at Peccartcanick."

[Mem. — The three rivers given on the chart, south of the James, were probably intended for the Neuse, the Tar, and the Roanoke rivers. Ocanahowan was probably supposed to be on the Neuse.]

"Here the King of Paspahege reported our men to be and wants to go." This is possibly in the present Sampson County, North Carolina.

"Here Paspahege and 2 of our own men landed to go to Pananiock."

This is the Pananaioc of Smith's Map of Ould Virginia.

Smith says in his "True Relation" (LIV.): "We had agreed with ye King of Paspahegh to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke beyond Roonok, where he

reported many men to be apparelled. Wee landed him at Warraskoyack, where playing the villaine, and deluding us for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after without going further." Smith is here referring to an expedition of January or February, 1608, under Newport. He does not mention this incident at this time in his General History; but in referring to an expedition of December, 1608, under his own command, he says, that he sent from Warraskoyack, Master Sicklemore and two guides "to seeke for the lost company of Sir Walter Raleigh's."

[Mem. — The landing from the chart was probably in Pagan Creek, Isle of Wight County.]

"Amongst high rocks," etc. I am unable to decipher this legend.

In his "True Relation," Smith says: "Within 4. or 5. daies Journey of the Falles was a great turning of Salt Water" — and again, "I tolde him [Powhatan] in that I would have occasion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other side of the maine, where was Salt Water, my father had a childe slaine, which wee supposed [by] Monocan his enemie, whose death we intended to revenge. After good deliberation, hee began to describe mee the countreys beyond the Falles, with many of the rest, confirming what not only Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had been prisoner to Powhatan had before tolde me, but some called it five dayes, some sixe, some eight, where the sayde water dashed *amongest many stones and rocks*, each storme, which caused oft tymes the heade of the River to bee brackish: Anchanachuck he described to bee the people that had slaine my brother, whose death hee would revenge."

Strachey says: "Yt (the James River) falleth from rocks far west, in a country inhabited by a nation, that they call Monocan. . . . from high hills afar off within the lands, from the topps of which hills, the people saie they see another sea, and that the water is there salt; and the journey to this sea, from the Falls, by their accompt,

should be about ten daies, allowing, according to a march, some fourteen or sixteen miles a day."

"Monacan 2 days Jorney."

From the Falls (Richmond) to the present Manakin town is less than twenty miles.

"20 miles above this C. S. was taken." The site of Apocant, on this chart, is placed farther west than the Falls (Powhatan). If this is correct "20 miles above" would be higher up than the present Goochland line; but the chart is not drawn to an exact scale, and without giving tiresome details, I will only give it as my opinion that the capture more probably took place near the present line between Hanover and New Kent.

The route the Indians took Smith after his capture is pricked down on the chart. After collating the various evidences in the premises with Smith's narrative in his "True Relation," I believe the following to be approximately correct. Smith seldom gives dates. He was taken prisoner about the 16th of December, 1607, and taken that day "about 6 miles to a hunting town" (Rasawrock), where he probably spent the next day; on the 18th he was carried to another kingdom on the Youghtanan (Pamunkey) river; thence to Mattapament (Mattapony) River; thence to two hunting towns, and "after this foure or five dayes march," he was returned again to Rasawrock about the 23d. Breaking up camp on the 24th, they marched to Menapacute (near the present West Point), reaching there on the second day's journey (25). The next day (26th) they visit Kekataugh, and thence, marching along northward, passing across the headwaters of the Payankatank, Smith is taken to Topahanocke (Tappahannock, Essex County?), reaching there the 27th; the next day (28th) departed and lodging that night at a hunting town of Powhatan's, they arrived the next day (29th) at Warawocomoco, "Where Powhatan, assured mee [Smith] his friendship and my libertie within foure dayes." January 1, 1608, "Powhatan sent Smith home with four men," etc.; he arrived at James-

town early on the morning of Saturday, January 2d, and "Nuport arrived the same night." The Indians kept Smith a prisoner about 16 days, yet he says, in his History of Virginia, "Sixe or seven weekes those Barbarians kept him prisoner."

Smith says that he "was taken to Topahanocke, a Kingdome upon another River northward: because, *the yeare before*, a shippe had beene in the River of Pamaunke, who having been kindly entertained by Powhatan their Emperour, they returned thence, and discovered the River of Topahanocke, where being received with like kindnesse, yet he slue the King, and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee, but the people reported him a great man that was Captaine, and using mee kindly, the next day we departed." XLIX. says: "Pamaonche having Smith prisoner carryed him to his neybors Wyroances to see if any of them knew him for one of those which had bene some *twoe* or *three yeeres before us*, in a river amongst them Northward, and taken awaie some Indians by force." From these statements we infer that a ship was up the Rappahannock River in 1603–1606; if so I have no other record of it. It could hardly refer to the Spanish ship in 1572?

From XLVI., from this chart, from CLVIII., and from the map engraved for Captain Smith (CCXLII.), it is evident that Werawocomoco was on the present Purtan or Putin Bay, York River. In fact this bay retains its original name. Tindall calls it *Poctan* (*i. e.* Powhatan), Fry and Jefferson *Portan*, and the present coast survey *Purtan*. Those who have placed it on Timberneck Bay and elsewhere, in the Cantauntack (or as CCXLII. and CLVIII. have it, the Capahowasick) country, have, as usual, been led into an error by the *text* of Smith's History of Virginia, which says that Werawocomoco was "*about* 25 *miles*" from where the river divided (West Point). The *text* (25 miles) is wrong, the chart (about 11 miles) is correct.

"Pocaughtawonaucks, a salvage people dwelling upon the bay beyond this mayne that eat of men and women."

In his "True Relation" Smith says: Powhatan "described also upon the same sea [the Back Sea] a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer, and Pataromerke, Nations upon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, under his territories, where the yeare before they had slain an hundred. he signified their crownes were shaven, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes. Beyond them he described people with short coates, and sleeves to the Elbowes, that passed that way in shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee described mee to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie River, issuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas."

It will be seen that this chart gives an island in James River, in the bend above the mouth of the Appomattox, which is evidently the "Turkey Island" of the first explorers. There is no island there now.

[Mem. — In 1888 Mr. Hamilton McMillan, A. M., of Robeson County, North Carolina, published an historical sketch of "Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony, with the traditions of An Indian Tribe in North Carolina indicating the fate of the Colony," etc. From this I will give extracts.

"In the latter part of 1864 three young men of the Croatan tribe, who had been drafted to work on the fortifications at Fort Fisher, were killed, it is supposed, by a white man who had them in custody. An inquest was held, and at its conclusion an old Indian, named George Lowrie, addressed the people assembled, in substance as follows: 'We have always been the friends of white men. We were a free people long before the white men came to our land. Our tribe was always free. They lived in Roanoke in Virginia. When the English came to Roanoke our tribe treated them kindly. One of our tribe went to England in an English ship and saw that great country.

We took the English to live with us. There is the white man's blood in these veins as well as that of the Indian. In order to be great like the English, we took the white man's language and religion, for our people were told they would prosper if they would take white men's laws. In the wars between white men and Indians we always fought on the side of white men. We moved to this land and fought for liberty for white men, yet white men have treated us as negroes. Here are our young men shot down by a white man and we get no justice, and that in a land where our people were always free.' "

This speech caused Mr. McMillan to investigate the history and traditions of this tribe.

"They assert that the English colony became incorporated with the tribe, which soon after emigrated westward, — to what is now Sampson County, — a portion to Cumberland County, and they had probably settled on the Lumber River in Robeson County as early as 1650, where they were found by the Huguenots in 1709, having farms and roads and other evidences of civilized life. Their language is almost pure Anglo-Saxon. Many of the words have long been obsolete in English-speaking countries."

It will be noted that the Croatan tradition is not at variance with the chart, from which it seems the Indians and lost colonists went from Roanoke westward up the present Roanoke River to Ocanohowan, and from thence to Pakrakanick (or Peccarecamek, Strachey), probably on the Neuse River, near Sampson County, where it seems they were reported to be in 1608.]

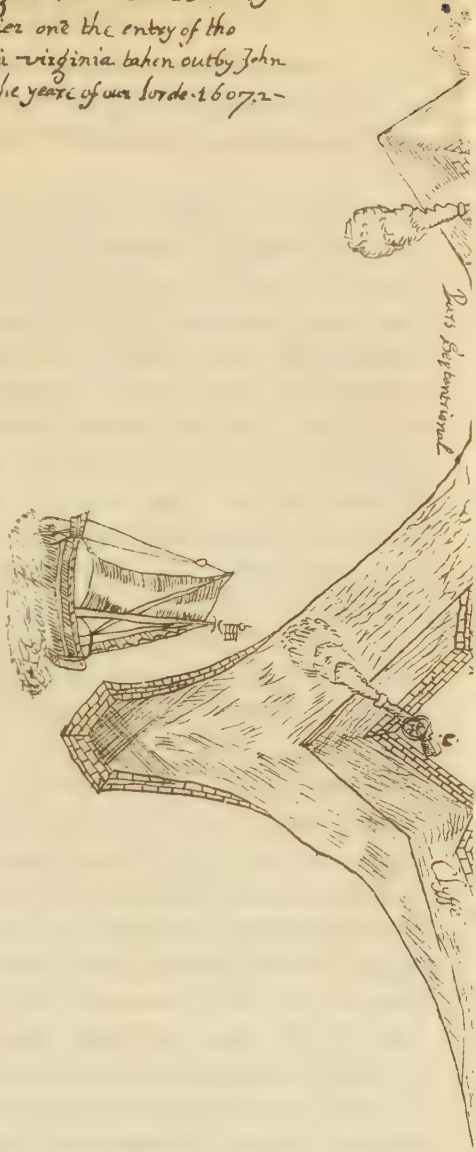
LVIII. PLAN OF ST. GEORGE'S FORT.

[The following note on LVIII. was made at my request by the late Mr. Charles Deane, LL. D., of Cambridge, Mass. — A. B.]

This draft of St. George's Fort is sufficiently described by the inscription on it, which recites that the fort was "erected

The draught of S^t Georges fort Erected by Captayne George Popham Esquier one the entry of the famous River of Sagadehock ni virginia taken outby John Hunt the viij^th day of octobar ni the yeare of our lorde 1607.

A. a demy Culuerinige.
B. Sakers
C. Minyons
D. Fawcons
1. the Presidents house
2. the Chapell
3. the Admirals house
4. the Munition house
5. the Store house
6. the Munition S^r. house
7. the vice Admirals house
8. the Buttery general.
9. the Prouostes house
10. the Sargiant Maiors house
11. the Corperals house
12. the Kitchin general.
13. the Smithes house
14. the Coupers house
15. the Bake house
16. the Court of guarde
17. the Sabe
18. the Land gate
19. the water gate
20. the posterne gate
21. the Market place
the rest are priuate lodgins



by Captaine George Popham, Esquier, one the entry of the famous River of Sagadehock in Virginia, taken out by John Hunt, the viii day of October in the yeere of our Lorde, 1607."

The projectors of the Northern Colony of Virginia, which included Sir John (Chief Justice) Popham, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, prosecuted their enterprise with eagerness. After sending a number of ships to the coast, and gathering what information they could from the natives, they finally projected a settlement much after the fashion of their rivals of the Southern Colony. On the last day of May two ships sailed from Plymouth with a hundred settlers well furnished with supplies, and taking two of Gorges' Indians, which two years before had been kidnapped on the coast by Weymouth, as guides and interpreters. The ships were a fly-boat, called the Gift of God, commanded by George Popham, a brother[1] of the Chief Justice, John Popham, "and a good ship," called the Mary and John, commanded by Ralegh Gilbert. After a prosperous voyage they arrived on the coast of Maine by the last of July, and after expending several days in exploring the coast and islands, on Sunday, the 9th of August, the greater part of the company of both ships landed on an island they called "St Georges Island," probably Monhegan, and "there," the narrative reads, "we heard a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, giving God thanks for our happy meeting, and safe arrival into the country, & so returned abroad again." (Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. xvii. 94 *et seq.*) Proceeding to the shore they made choice on the 18th of a place for a settlement — being a projected point of land at the mouth of the Sagadahoc or Kennebeck, on the western side, called by the Indians "Sabino," "being almost an island of good bigness." This peninsula is included in the present town of Phippsburg. On the following day, "the 19th of August, we all went to the shore where we made

[1] So always stated, but I doubt if they were brothers. See my Popham pedigree in the Biographical Index.

choice for our plantation, and there we had a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, & after the sermon our patent was read with the orders & laws therein prescribed." The company then proceeded to organize their community. Captain George Popham was chosen president, Captain Ralegh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, master of the ordinance; Captain Robert Davis, sergeant major; Captain Ellis Best, marshal; Mr. Seaman, secretary; Captain James Davis, captain of the fort; Mr. Gome Carew, chief searcher. All these were of the council. These names are taken from Smith, folio 203, to which from Strachey we should add, Richard Seymer, preacher. They then all returned to their ship. Next day the company landed and began to fortify. "Our President, Captain Popham, set the first spit of ground unto it, and after him all the rest followed, & labored hard in the trenches about it." The narrative which we have referred to above, being the basis of Strachey's account, gives an almost daily record of the work upon the fort, showing "that each man did his best endeavor for the building of the fort," until it was fully finished . . . trenched & fortified, with twelve pieces of ordinance and fifty houses built therein, beside a church and storehouse." It has been conjectured that "fifty" was a clerical error, and we should read five for the number of houses built, but the number indicated on the plan, and as compared with the marginal list on the "Draught," proves that conjecture to be erroneous, for a somewhat larger number even than fifteen, which might have been the word intended, beside the chapel and storehouse, can be made out. The narrative proceeds to say that after finishing the fort, etc., "the carpenters framed a pretty pinnace of about thirty ton, which they called the 'Virginia,' the chief shipwright being one Digby of London." This vessel a few years later was one of those which accompanied the fleet bound to the southern colony in 1609, on which voyage Gates and Somers were wrecked at Bermuda. She is mentioned as the "Virginia,

which was built in the North Colony," and her chief officers were, "Captain Davies" and "Master Davies." These may well be the same persons who witnessed the building of this vessel at Fort St. George. It will be noticed that the maker of this "Draught" has delineated on it a small vessel, near the fort, on the northerly or water side of it.

About four months after the landing at Sabino, or on the 15th of December,[1] Robert Davies was dispatched home in the Mary and John, "to advertise both their safe arrival & forwardness of their plantation within the river of Sagadahoc, with letters to the Chief Justice, importuning a supply for the most necessary wants in the subsisting of a colony to be sent unto them betimes the next year." He also bore a letter from President George Popham to King James, dated "At the Fort of St. George, in Sagadahoc of Virginia, 13 December, 1607." More than half the colonists at that time returned home, leaving but forty-five at the fort.

All the narratives existing of the Popham colony are very deficient in details concerning it after this time. On the return of Captain Davies in the following year with supplies, — we do not know at what precise time he arrived at the fort, perhaps by May, — he found that the colonists had experienced a hard winter, during which their storehouse and provisions had been burned. He learned also that President Popham had died on the 5th of February. Captain Davies brought news of the death of Chief Justice Popham, who had died on the 7th of June, 1607, only a few days after the first expedition had sailed for Sagadahoc. He also brought letters announcing the death of Sir John Gilbert, the eldest brother of Ralegh Gilbert, now president of the colony, who was summoned home to settle the

[1] So always stated, but I have reason to believe (as I have said) that one of the ships returned to England early in October "to advertise both of their safe arrival and forwardness of their plantation," etc.; and that the other ship returned to England about the middle of December with Popham's letter, etc., and taking back many of the colonists. The evidence of this is only circumstantial, but it seems to me quite strong.

estate, in which he had an interest. So they all resolved to stay no longer in the country, "wherefore they all embarked in this new arrived ship, & in the new pinnace, the 'Virginia,' and set sail for England. And this," concludes Strachey, "was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sagadehoc."

Samuel Maverick, who settled in Massachusetts Bay about the year 1624, says, in a "brief description of New England," written in the year 1660, on his return to England, that he visited the scene of the Popham colony when he first went over, and "found roots & garden hearbs & some old walls there . . . which showed it to be the place where they had been." (Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. xxi. 231.) One would think that the walls of so formidable a structure as we have here would have shown something more than a mere ruin after the lapse of only seventeen years. In the autumn of 1611, only three years after its abandonment, the fort was visited by the French under Biencourt, as told by Father Biard, in Carayon, p. 63, and in CXCIII. of this history, when this structure must have been intact; but the description of it is too brief and indefinite. It excited the curiosity of the French, who were much inclined to extol the enterprise of the English, but on looking at it with a military eye, they discovered the ground to be badly chosen for defense, as not fully commanding the situation. Biard relates some improbable stories told by the Indians as to the fate of the Popham colonists. See, also, an Indian tradition concerning the fort and settlement, preserved by Hubbard in his "Narrative of the Troubles," second part, p. 75. It would be interesting to know if the fort was in any manner dismantled by the retiring colonists.

LIX. REPORT ON VIRGINIA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 146.

Copy of a document on the outside of which is said: "To be sent to the King our Master." It is inclosed with the drawings in Don Pedro de Zuñiga's letter of September 10, 1608, and is evidently the report given him by a person who had been to Virginia," mentioned in said letter.[1]

"Virginia is situated on the firm land, on the *Continent of the West Indies*, in the N. Western part; it has three streams and on one of these are the plantations or fortifications, which are of little power of resistance. The river is called Zanagadoa[2]; it is ten or twelve fathoms deep, and a hundred miles, more or less, long; there is no other harbour but this which they call 'Jamestowe' [Jamestown], which means Jacob's Town; Raley discovered this land perhaps some twenty years ago. Captain 'Niuporte' [Newport] discovered the rivers perhaps some two years ago.

"Only that river which is in the Southern Colony or Settlement is best known, and . . . coming from that river with a West or West and North wind. All that has so far been found is only 'Gomar Sasifrax,' and some other dye wood.

"You sail from here with a Southwest wind; in the South [North?] it lies under the forty-second degree of latitude, and at the North [South?] under the thirty-ninth and a half, with fourteen minutes superadded."

[1] Evidently a part of this "report" is missing.

[2] Zanagadoa must be intended for Sagadahoc. It was a report on Virginia (from 34° to 45°) as then understood, including both the north and south colonies. The author has, either through ignorance or design, given Zuñiga an inaccurate and badly mixed up description.

LX. PHILIP III. TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 249.

Copy of an extract from a letter (deciphered) of H. M. to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated Valladolid, September 23, 1608.

"I should be very glad to see *the papers*[1] which you thought you would send me, concerning Virginia, so that I might the better come to a decision as to what ought to be done — and thus you will send them as promptly as it can be done."

LXI. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2586, FOLIO 154.

Copy of a paragraph (a portion) of a deciphered letter written by Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, November 8, 1608.

"SIRE.

" . . . It is very important, Your Majesty should command that an end be put to those things done in Virginia; because it is a matter of great importance — and they propose (as I understand) to send as many as 1500 men there; and they hope that 12,000 will be gotten together there in time. It is a matter which it might be well should be clearly understood."

. . . . . .

Zuñiga evidently wished Philip III. to put an end to the colony; but as an ambassador, he only suggests to the king and Lerma, giving his reasons for making the suggestions. Zuñiga mentions in LXIX. a letter of December $\frac{2}{12}$, 1608, in

[1] I am quite sure these were not the papers already sent ($\frac{\text{Aug.}}{\text{Sept.}}\ \frac{31}{10}$, LVI.). They were probably sent after this and have not been found.

which he tells Philip III. that two vessels had left England for America; but I have not found the letter, and I do not know what two vessels they were.

As it seems the colony from North Virginia had returned to England in December, 1608, it is probable that they "all embarked in Capt Davis's new arrived ship and in the new pinnace, the Virginia (which had been built there, the chief shipwright being one Digby of London), and set sail for England," either in October or November, 1608.

The material for a history of this northern enterprise was evidently very ample; but unfortunately most of it fell into the hands of Purchas and is now probably lost. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1837, mentions the following documents as then (1624) at his service; namely: —

"The Journals of Master Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, John Eliot, etc.

"With divers Letters from Cap. Popham and others."

It seems that these papers had come to the hands of Purchas (vol. iv. p. 1873) "amongst M. Hakluyt's papers."

It is not improbable that the journal of James Davis, or a large portion of it, was the basis of Strachey's account of the colony. See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. xviii. p. 94.

LXII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 5.

Copy of a paragraph of a deciphered letter written by Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated London, January 15, 1609.

"SIRE: —

"The Colony which the Chief Justice sent out to Virginia has returned[1] in a sad plight. Still there sails now a

[1] This letter was written January 5, 1608–9, English style; the colony had probably recently returned, in December, 1608, I think.

good ship and a tender,[1] *to be somewhere in the neighborhood of the Havana*" (*i. e.* to go by a route passing somewhere near Havana, Cuba[2]). "From the best information that I can obtain they say that they carry news of having probably found some mines; this is not certain. They will proceed to the aforesaid Virginia, where they will endeavour to make themselves very strong." . . .

LXIII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2585, FOLIO 85.

Copy of an extract of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to H. M. dated London, January 17, 1609.

"They are likewise negotiating with the Baron of Arundel, who is the one who took the regiment to Flanders, that he shall engage to go with 500 Englishmen, and with as many Irishmen, to settle in Virginia, to fortify themselves there, and to take the necessary supplies, so as to put it in the *best state* of defense. He has asked for two things: *First*, a Patent by this King, and *secondly*, money. So far they have told him that, as to a Patent, they dare not give it to him, and as to the other, they have none. They have talked about it that the great pirate *Warte*[3] (sic) will go now — which shows that they wish for that port only for purposes of piracy, and if your Majesty makes an end of those who are now over there (which can easily be done), they will not dare go on with their plans."

[MEM. — Capt. Newport, who had left Virginia in December, 1608, arrived in England late in January, 1609. Captain John Ratcliffe, returned with him, and they brought the following documents, which are now probably lost.

[1] This "good ship and a tender" were probably sent by Sir Francis Popham.

[2] This information was for having the vessels waylaid in the West Indies.

[3] Sir John Watts, whose ships had often pillaged the West Indies.

"A Diarie of the Discoverie of the Bay" (2 June to 21 July, 1608), and "A Diarie of the second voyage in discovering the Bay" (24 July to 7 September, 1608). Purchas (see vol. iv. p. 1712) had these Diaries; but did not publish them. They were probably Hakluyt manuscripts. Captain John Smith, who was President of the Council in Virginia, when Newport left, says he sent at this time LXIV. and a "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the countries and Nations that inhabit them," which has generally been supposed to be the Map (CCXLII.) and Description (CCXLIV.), but this is not certain.

Granger says, "In Ashmole's Museum is a very singular coat, taken from the back of his savage Majesty (Powhatan) by the English. It is composed of two deer skins, and enriched, rather than adorned, with figures of men and beasts, composed of small cowree shells which were the money of his country." It may be that this coat of Powhatan's was taken back by Newport at this time, being one of the articles given in exchange for the Bed, etc.]

LXIV. SMITH TO THE TREASURER OF VIRGINIA.

"The Copy of a letter sent to The Treasurer and Councell of Virginia from Captaine Smith."

It was not published in the Oxford Tract (CCXLV.) nor by Purchas. It was first published in Smith's History of Virginia (1624), pp. 70–72. Smith doubtless reported to the Council of Virginia in England at this time, as it was his duty to do so; but it is not probable that the document, as published in 1624, was written in Virginia in 1608.

"The copy of a Letter sent to The Treasurer and Councell of Virginia[1] from Captaine Smith, then President in Virginia.

[1] This title, "The Treasurer and Councell," was not granted by the first charter to the two companies of April, 1606; but by the second or special charter to the South Virginia Company, which did not pass the seals

"Right Honorable, &c. — I Received your Letter,[1] wherein you write, that our minds are so set upon faction, and idle conceits in dividing the Country without your consents, and that we feed you but with ifs and ands, hopes, and some few proofes; as if we woulde keepe the mystery of the businesse to ourselves: and that we must expresly follow your instructions[2] sent by Captaine Newport: the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the ships returne, we are like to remain as banished men.[3] To these particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer.

"For our factions, unlesse you would have me run away and leave the Country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter[4] sent to my Lord of Salisbury, by the President and his confederats, for dividing the Country, etc. What it was I know not, for you saw no hand of mine to it; nor ever dream't I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no scholer, I am past a schoole-boy; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here, doe know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I have not concealed from you anything I know; but I feare some cause you to beleeve much more then is true.[5]

"Expresly to follow your directions by Captaine Newport, though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our commission, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of us all; which now is generally confessed when it is too late.

in England until 23 May, 1609, and was not known in Virginia before the following July.

[1] I have not found this letter; but the Council in CXIV. profess to have found no fault until Newport's third return. This letter, if sent at this time, would have had reference to Ratcliffe's government and not to Smith's.

[2] I have found no other mention of such instructions.

[3] They did not defray these charges and they were not suffered "to remain as banished men."

[4] Not found.

[5] Captain Smith had just been guilty of this himself.

Last Earl of Devonshire.

Onely Captaine Winne and Captaine Waldo I have sworne of the Councell, and crowned Powhatan according to your instructions.

"For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat[1] to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, Newport had 120. of the best men he could chuse. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag; but as she is, five hundred cannot. to a navigable place above the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of Gold, or any of them sent by Sir Walter Raleigh:[2] at our Consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirtie myles,[3] (which might, as well have been done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a seasonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to serve the Fort.

"In their absence I followed the new began workes

[1] The idea was to carry the parts of this boat around the Falls and put it together again above — to be used in the "four or five daies Journey of the Falles" where Smith had reported that there was "a great turning of Salt Water." See Notes on LVII.

[2] Captain Smith himself had originated these hopes. See Notes on LVII.

[3] Evidently there was some truth in the Indian report about the mines, as the eastern gold belt of Virginia crosses the river from forty to sixty miles above the Falls. This discovery made by Newport and his men is possibly referred to in Hening's *Statutes at Large* (Virginia), vol. i. p. 135.

This document is so evidently partisan and untrustworthy, that it does not seem worth the while to continue these notes. It is not only a praise of self, but a making small of others, evidently written with years of after experiences before him. We know who the Council of Virginia were at that time, and it does not seem at all probable that Smith would have written such a letter to them; neither is it probable that he would have written it in the lifetime of Archer, Newport, or Ratcliffe. It was certainly not published until these men were dead. It is a fair sample of Smith's *General History*, and when we consider that such evidence as this was implicitly relied on for over two hundred years, we can easily understand why the account of the early colony in Virginia came to be a mere eulogy of this adventurer, and a disparagement of others, and why such great injustice has been done the men who gave their time, their talents, and their lives to establishing the first Protestant colony in our country

of Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Sope-ashes, and Clapboord; whereof some small quantities we have sent you. But if you rightly consider, what an infinite toyle it is in Russia and Swethland, where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beast in those ancient Common-wealths, which many an hundred years have used it; yet thousands of those poore people can scarce get necessaries to live, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from us any such matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get wherewith to live, and defend ourselves against the inconstant Salvages: finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things els the Russians have.

"For the coronation of Powhatan, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this give me leave to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion of us all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the Salvages harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it; our owne not being halfe sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships loading of corne Newport promised to provide us from Powhatan, he brought us but foureteene Bushels; and from the Monacans nothing, but the most of the men sicke and neare famished. From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to live upon this: the one halfe sicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wilde, and we so weake, and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine Newport we much suspect to be the Authour of those inventions.

"Now that you should know, I have made you as great a discovery as he, for lesse charge then he spendeth you

every meale; I have sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good Iron ore at the least; so divided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them.

"The Souldiers say many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you send us: and that Newport hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every master you have yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pound might be spared, which is more then we have all, that helps to pay him wages.

"Captaine Ratliffe is now called Sicklemore, a poore counterfeited Imposture. I have sent you him home, least the Company should cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you; if he and Archer returne againe, they are sufficient to keepe us alwayes in factions.

"When you send againe I intreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees, roots, well provided; then a thousand of such as we have: for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything.

"Thus if you please to consider this account, and of the unnecessary wages to Captaine Newport, or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leave us victuals for 12 moneths; though we had 89 by this discovery lame and sicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to give him three hogsheads of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to send into Germany or Poleland for glasse-men and the rest, till we be able to sustaine ourselves, and relieve them when they come. It were better to give five hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in Denmarke, then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in overtoyling in our weake and unskilfull bodies, to

satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover ourselves from one supply to another.

"And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let us know what we should receive and not stand to the saylers courtesie to leave us what they please; els you may charge us with what you will, but we not you with anything.

"These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia, from laying such a foundation, that ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes: so I humbly rest."

PERIOD II.

FROM THE RETURN OF NEWPORT IN JANUARY, 1609, TO THE RETURN OF THE REMAINS OF THE FLEET IN NOVEMBER, 1609.

The Place for gaining a Foothold in America having been selected. — The Plan determined on. — A special Charter granted, such as Experience had taught the Managers they would need. — The Council take the Enterprise well in Hand, and a Brief Period of Enthusiasm reigns in England at the Prospect of Planting a Protestant Colony in America.

LXV. CHAMBERLAIN TO CARLETON.

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, JAMES I. VOLUME 43, NUMBER 39.

"SIR. — You had heard from me on friday &c. [The House at Westminster not yet furnished. Interview with Sir Walter Cope. The King has erected a new office, by appointing Sir Richard Wigmore, Marshall of the Field. Project to plant Ireland with English and Scotch. Threatened quarrel with the Duke of Florence.]

"The least of our East Indian Ships called the pinnesse is arrived at Dartmouth with a 100 tunne of cloves, without seeing or hearing anything of her consorts since they parted from the coast of England.

"Here is likewise a ship newly come from Virginia with some petty commodities and hope of more, as divers sorts of woode for wainscot and other uses, sope ashes, some pitch and tarre, certain unknowne Kindes of herbs for dieng not without suspicion (as they terme yt) of cuchenilla. . . .

"From London this 23rd of January 1608. (O. S.)

"Yours most assuredly

"JOHN CHAMBERLAIN."

Addressed: "To my assured Goode Frend. Master Dudley Carleton. Geve these at Eton."

LXVI. THE SECOND CHARTER.

The reports of the proceedings in Virginia brought back by Newport convinced His Majesties Council for Virginia, and the officers of the Virginia Company of London, of sundry errors in the form of government in Virginia, and of other things which it was necessary to rectify, and after consulting together it was determined, in order to reform and correct those errors already discovered, and to prevent such as in the future might threaten them, to ask for a new charter. Hakluyt mentions one of these "Solemne meetings at the house of the right honourable the Earle of Exeter," at which "Master Thomas Heriot" was present in consultation with the managers of the American enterprise.

In reply to their petition the king promptly granted them new "Letters Pattents," giving them greater privileges and powers, some time prior to the 17th of February, 1609; but as this charter had not only to go through the long official routine, but also, as "every planter and Adventurer was to be inserted in the Patent, by name," it was kept open to receive these names, and was not signed and sealed by the king until May 23, 1609.

The reasons given by the managers of the enterprise for asking for this charter and making the change in the form of government in Virginia will be found in CXIV. All contemporaries whom I have noted, and I have noted many, indorse the wisdom of the act, except Captain John Smith, whose references to the same in his "General History" (pp. 89, 90, 164) and his Advertisements, etc. (p. 5), are both inaccurate and unjust.

John Rolfe says: "The beginning of this plantation was governed by a president and councell, aristocratically . . . and in this government happened all the miserie."

Hamor says the years 1606–1610 "were meerely mispent." All agreed that the change in the government was a wise one, that under the president and council, "the

plantation went rather backwards than forwards" (Sloane MS., No. 750). "For Government let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel," etc. (CCCLXIII.). As to the changes in the charters, the advantages of the second charter are self-evident.

This charter, it seems, was drafted by Sir Edwin Sandys, assisted possibly by Lord Bacon, both of whom were at that time members of His Majesty's Council for the company, and they were, about this time, assisting each other in drafting several instruments of writing, notably the "remonstrance against the King's conduct towards the Parliament of 1604–1611."

The first colony had found and "settled on a fit and convenient place," within the bounds limited to them in the first charter. They now obtained a special charter and a special royal council for that company and colony. Among other things, their charter increased their bounds from the former limited grant of only 10,000 square miles to over 1,000,000 square miles, extending 200 miles north and 200 miles south of Point Comfort, and from sea to sea, also all the islands lying within 100 miles along the coast of both seas, or, as then understood, the lands lying in America between 34° and 40° north latitude. Although the Virginia Company of London now had a special royal council, there is nothing in their charter revoking the authority formerly granted to "His Majesties Council of Virginia," over "Virginia or any the territories of America, between thirty four and forty-five degrees of northerly latitude." And King James certainly continued his claim to all of America within those bounds, and the authority of his original council in the premises must have remained in force over the lands between 40° and 45° north latitude. The northern company had been forced to abandon their first settlement; but they had not ceased to hope to be able yet to make a plantation somewhere within those bounds, and thus secure the grant of 10,000 square miles. Their privileges under the first charter of April, 1606, had never been revoked,

when in 1620 they asked for and obtained (as the first colony had done in 1609) a special charter and a special council for their company and colony. And the charter of 1620 to them (as that of 1609 to the first colony) increased their lands from the former limited grant to the immense body of lands lying between 40° (the north boundary of the southern colony) and 48° north latitude.

The advantages and benefits, additional privileges, etc., derived by the Virginia Company of London under the second charter are too apparent to admit of any real question. It was in fact their first charter, "erecting them into a Corporation and Body Politic," a regular grant of incorporation to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia," with definitely located bounds, etc., while the first charter was merely an experimental grant, of unlocated lands, to two separate companies or colonies.

The second charter was first published in Stith's "History of Virginia" in 1747. It is the third state paper mentioned by Jefferson.

"The Second Charter to The Treasurer and Company, for Virginia, erecting them into a Corporation and Body Politic, and for the further enlargement and explanation of the privileges of the said Company and first Colony of Virginia. Dated May 23d. 1609. 7. James.

"Article I. [a Recital of the first charter, &c.]

"II. Now, forasmuch as divers and sundry of our loving subjects, as well adventurers, as planters, of the said first colony, which have already engaged themselves in furthering the business of the said colony and plantation, and do further intend, by the assistance of Almighty God, to prosecute the same to a happy end, have of late been humble suitors unto us, that (in respect of their great charges and the adventure of many of their lives, which they have hazarded in the said discovery and plantation of the said country) we

Recital of a Petition for further enlargement and explanation of the first Charter.

would be pleased to grant them a further enlargement and explanation of the said grant, privileges, and liberties, and that such counsellors, and other officers, may be appointed amongst them, to manage and direct their affairs, as are willing and ready to adventure with them, as also whose dwellings are not so far remote from the city of London, but that they may, at convenient times, be ready at hand, to give their advice and assistance, upon all occasions requisite.

"III. We, greatly affecting the effectual prosecution and happy success of the said Plantation, and commending their good desires therein, for their further encouragement in accomplishing so excellent a work, much pleasing to God, and profitable to our Kingdom, do, of our special grace and certain Knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, give, grant, and confirm, to our trusty and well beloved subjects, Company incorporated.

Robert [Cecil], Earl of Salisbury,
Thomas [Howard], " " Suffolk,
Henry [Wriothesley], " " Southampton,
William [Herbert], " " Pembroke,
Henry [Clinton], " " Lincoln,
Richard Sackville], " " Dorset,
Thomas [Cecil], " " Exeter,
Philip [Herbert], " " Montgomery,
Robert [Sydney], Lord Viscount Lisle,
Theophilus, Lord Howard of Walden,
James [Montague], Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells,
Edward, Lord Zouche,
Thomas [West] Lord Lawarr,
William [Parker], " Mounteagle,
Ralph [Eure], " Ewre,
Edmond [Sheffield], " Sheffield,
Grey [Brydges], " Chandois,
[William Compton], " Compton,
John [Petre], " Petre,
John [Stanhope], " Stanhope,
George [Carew], " Carew,

Sir Humphrey Weld, Lord Mayor of London,
George Percie, Esq,
Sir Edward Cecil, Knt.,
" George Wharton "
Francis West, esq,
Sir William Wade, Knt,
" Henry Nevil, "
" Thomas Smith, "
" Oliver Cromwell, "
" Peter Manwood, "
" Drue Drury, "
" John Scott, "
" Thomas Challoner, "
" Robert Drury, "
" Anthony Cope, "
" Horatio Vere, "
" Edward Conway, "
" William Brown "
" Maurice Berkeley, "
" Robert Mansel "
" Amias Preston, "
" Thomas Gates, "
" Anthony Ashly, "
" Michael Sondes, "
" Henry Carey, "
" Stephen Soame, "
" Calisthenes Brooke, "
" Edward Michelborn, "
" John Ratcliffe, "
" Charles Wilmot, "
" George Moor, "
" Hugh Wirral, "
" Thomas Dennis, "
" John Holles, "
" William Godolphin, "
" Thomas Monson, "
" Thomas Ridgway, "

EDWARD CECIL

First Viscount Wimbledon

Sir John Brooke, Knt,
" Robert Killigrew, "
" Henry Peyton "
" Richard Williamson, "
" Ferdinando Weynman, "
" William St. John, "
" Thomas Holcroft, "
" John Mallory, "
" Roger Ashton, "
" Walter Cope, "
" Richard Wigmore, "
" William Coke, "
" Herbert Crofte, "
" Henry Fanshawe, "
" John Smith, "
" Francis Wolley, "
" Edward Waterhouse, "
" Henry Seckford, "
" Edwin Sandys, "
" Thomas Waynam, "
" John Trevor, "
" Warwick Heele, "
" Robert Wroth, "
" John Townsend, "
" Christopher Perkins, "
" Daniel Dun, "
" Henry Hobart, "
" Francis Bacon, "
" Henry Montague, "
" George Coppin, "
" Samuel Sandys, "
" Thomas Roe, "
" George Somers, "
" Thomas Freake, "
" Thomas Harwell, "
" Charles Kelke, "
" Baptist Hicks, "

Sir John Watts, Knt,
" Robert Carey, "
" William Romney, "
" Thomas Middleton, "
" Hatton Cheeke, "
" John Ogle, "
" Cavallero Meycot, "
" Stephen Riddlesdon, "
" Thomas Bludder, "
" Anthony Aucher, "
" Robert Johnson, "
" Thomas Panton, "
" Charles Morgan, "
" Stephen Pole, "
" John Burlacie, "
" Christopher Cleave, "
" George Hayward, "
" John Davis, "
" Thomas Sutton, "
" Anthony Forest, "
" Robert Payne, "
" John Digby, "
" Dudley Digges, "
" Rowland Cotton, "
Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe,
" [James] Meadows,
" [Peter] Turner,
" [Leonard] Poe,
Captain, Pagnam,
" Jeffrey Holcrofte,
" ——Romney,
" Henry Spry,
" —— Shelton,
" —— Sparks,
" Thomas Wyat,
" —— Brinsly,
" William Courtney,

Captain —— Herbert,
" —— Clarke,
" —— Dewhurst,
" John Blundell,
" —— Fryer,
" Lewis Orwell,
" Edward Loyd,
" —— Slingesby,
" —— Hawley,
" —— Orme,
" —— Woodhouse,
" —— Mason,
" Thomas Holcroft,
" John Coke,
" —— Holles,
" William Proude,
" Henry Woodhouse,
" Richard Lindesey,
" —— Dexter,
" William Winter,
" —— Pearse,
" John Bingham,
" —— Burray,
" Thomas Conway,
" —— Rookwood,
" William Lovelace,
" John Ashley,
" Thomas Wynne,
" Thomas Mewtis,
" Edward Harwood,
" Michael Everard,
" —— Comock,
" —— Mills,
" —— Pigot,
" Edward-Maria Wingfield,
" Christopher Newport,
" John Sicklemore, alias Ratcliffe,

Captain John Smith,
" John Martin,
" Peter Wynne,
" [Richard] Waldoe,
" Thomas Wood,
" Thomas Button,
George Bolls, Esq. Sheriff of London,
William Crashaw, Clerk, Batchelor of Divinity.
William Seabright, Esq,
Christopher Brooke "
John Bingley "
Thomas Watson "
Richard Percival "
John Moore "
Hugh Brooker "
David Woodhouse "
Anthony Aucher "
Robert Bowyer "
Ralph Ewens "
Zachery Jones "
George Calvert "
William Dobson "
Henry Reynolds "
Thomas Walker "
Anthony Barnars "
Thomas Sandys "
Henry Sandys "
Richard Sandys ", son of Sir Edwin Sandys,
William Oxenbridge "
John Moore "
Thomas Wilson "
John Bullock "
John Waller "
Thomas Webb,
Jehu Robinson,
William Brewster,
Robert Evelyn,

Henry Danby,
Richard Hackluit, minister,
John Eldred, merchant,
William Russel, "
John Merrick, "
Richard Banister "
Charles Anthony, goldsmith,
John Banks,
William Evans,
Richard Humble,
Richard Chamberlayne, merchant,
Thomas Barber, "
Richard Pomet, "
John Fletcher, "
Thomas Nicholls, "
John Stoke, "
Gabriel Archer,
Francis Covel,
William Bonham,
Edward Harrison,
John Wolstenholme,
Nicholas Salter,
Hugh Evans,
William Barnes,
Otho Mawdet,
Richard Staper, merchant,
John Elkin, "
William Coyse,
Thomas Perkin, cooper,
Humphry James, "
Henry Jackson,
Robert Singleton,
Christopher Nicholls,
John Harper,
Abraham Chamberlayne,
Thomas Shipton,
Thomas Carpenter,

Anthony Crew,
George Holman,
Robert Hill,
Cleophas Smith,
Ralph Harrison,
John Farmer,
James Brearley,
William Crosby,
Richard Cox,
John Gearing,
Richard Strongarm, Ironmonger,
Thomas Langton,
Griffith Hinton,
Richard Ironsides,
Richard Dean,
Richard Turner,
William Lawson, Mercer,
James Chatfield,
Edward Allen,
Tedder Roberts,
Hildebrand Sprinson,
Arthur Mowse,
John Gardiner,
James Russel,
Richard Caswell,
Richard Evans,
John Hawkins,
Richard Kerril,
Richard Brooke,
Matthew, Scrivener, gentleman,
William Stallenge "
Arthur Venn, "
Sandys Webbe, "
Michael Phettiplace, "
William Phettiplace "
Ambrose Prusey, "
John Taverner, "

George Pretty, Gentleman,
Peter Latham, "
Thomas Montford, "
William Cantrel, "
Richard Wiffin, "
Ralph Moreton, "
John Cornelius,
Martin Freeman,
Ralph Freeman,
Andrew Moore,
Thomas White,
Edward Perkin,
Robert Offley,
Thomas Whitley,
George Pit,
Robert Parkhurst,
Thomas Morris,
Peter Harloe,
Jeffry Duppa,
John Gilbert,
William Hancock,
Matthew Brown,
Francis Tyrrel,
Randal Carter,
Othowell Smith,
Thomas Hamond,
Martin Bond, Haberdasher,
John Moulsoe,
Robert Johnson,
William Young,
John Woodal,
William Felgate,
Humfrey Westwood,
Richard Champion,
Henry Robinson,
Francis Mapes,
William Sambach,

Ralegh Crashaw,
Daniel Tucker,
Thomas Grave,
Hugh Willeston,
Thomas Culpepper, of Wigsel Esq,
John Culpepper, gentleman,
Henry Lee,
Josias Kirton, gentleman,
John Pory, "
Henry Collins,
George Burton,
William Atkinson,
Thomas Forest,
John Russel,
John Holt,
Harman Harrison,
Gabriel Beedel,
John Beedel,
Henry Dawkes,
George Scot,
Edward Fleetwood, gentleman,
Richard Rogers, "
Arthur Robinson,
Robert Robinson,
John Huntley,
John Grey,
William Payne,
William Field,
William Wattey,
William Webster,
John Dingley,
Thomas Draper.
Richard Glanvil,
Arnold Lulls,
Henry Roe,
William More,
Nicholas Gryce,

James Monger,
Nicholas Andrews,
Jeremy Hayden, Ironmonger,
Philip Durette,
John Quarles,
John West,
Matthew Springham,
John Johnson,
Christopher Hore,
Thomas Snead,
George Berkeley,
Arthur Pet,
Thomas Careles,
William Berkeley,
Thomas Johnson,
Alexander Bents,
Captain William King,
George Sandys, gentleman,
James White, "
Edmond Wynne,
Charles Towler,
Richard Reynold,
Edward Webb,
Richard Maplesden,
Thomas Lever,
David Bourne,
Thomas Wood,
Ralph Hamer,
Edward Barnes, Mercer,
John Wright, "
Robert Middleton,
Edward Littlefield,
Katharine West,
Thomas Web,
Ralph King,
Robert Coppin,
James Askew,

Christopher Holt,
William Bardwell,
Alexander Chiles,
Lewis Tate,
Edward Ditchfield,
James Swifte,
Richard Widdowes, goldsmith,
Edmond Brudenell,
Edward Burwell,
John Hansford,
Edward Wooller,
William Palmer, Haberdasher,
John Badger,
John Hodgson,
Peter Mounsel,
John Carril,
John Busbridge,
William Dun,
Thomas Johnson,
Nicholas Benson,
Thomas Shipton,
Nathaniel Wade,
Randal Wetwood,
Matthew Dequester,
Charles Hawkins,
Hugh Hamersley,
Abraham Cartwright,
George Bennet
William Cater,
Richard Goddart,
Henry Cromwell,
Phineas Pet,
Robert Cooper,
John Cooper,
Henry Newce,
Edward Wilkes,
Robert Bateman,

[illegible] Earl of Salisbury

Nicholas Ferrar,
John Newhouse,
John Cason,
Thomas Harris, gentleman,
George Etheridge, "
Thomas Mayle, "
Richard Stafford,
Thomas ——,
Richard Cooper,
John Westraw,
Edward Welch,
Thomas Britain,
Thomas Knowles,
Octavian Thorne,
Edmond Smith
John March,
Edward Carew,
Thomas Pleydall,
Richard Let,
Miles Palmer,
Henry Price,
John Joshua, gentleman,
William Clauday,
Jeremy Pearsye,
John Bree, gentleman,
William Hampson,
Christopher Pickford,
Thomas Hunt,
Thomas Truston,
Christopher Salmon,
John Howard, clerk,
Richard Partridge,
Allen Cassen,
Felix Wilson,
Thomas Bathurst,
George Wilmer,
Andrew Wilmer,

Maurice Lewellin,
Thomas Godwin,
Peter Burgoyne,
Thomas Burgoyne,
Robert Burgoyne,
Robert Smith, merchant-taylor,
Edward Cage, grocer,
Thomas Cannon, gentleman,
William Welby, Stationer,
Clement Wilmer, gentleman,
John Clapham, "
Giles Francis, "
George Walker, Sadler,
John Swinhow, Stationer,
Edward Bishop, "
Leonard White, gentleman,
Christopher Baron,
Peter Benson,
Richard Smith
George Proctor, minister,
Millicent Ramsden, widow,
Joseph Soane,
Thomas Hinshaw,
John Baker,
Robert Thornton,
John Davis,
Edward Facet,
George Newce, gentleman,
John Robinson,
Captain Thomas Wood,
William Brown, Shoemaker,
Robert Barker, "
Robert Pennington,
Francis Burley, minister,
William Quick, grocer,
Edward Lewis, "
Laurence Campe, Draper,

Aden Perkins, grocer,
Richard Shepherd, preacher,
William Shacley, Haberdasher,
William Taylor, "
Edwin Lukin, gentleman,
John Franklyn, Haberdasher,
John Southwick,
Peter Peate,
George Johan, Ironmonger,
George Yeardley, gentleman,
Henry Shelley,
John Prat,
Thomas Church, draper,
William Powel, gentleman,
Richard Frith "
Thomas Wheeler, draper,
Francis Haselrig, gentleman
Hugh Shipley, "
John Andrews, the Elder, Doctor of Cambridge,
Francis Whistler, gentleman,
John Vassal, "
Richard Howle
Edward Berkeley, gentleman,
Richard Keneridgburg, "
Nicholas Exton, Draper,
William Bennet, Fishmonger,
James Haywood, merchant,
Nicholas Isaac "
William Gibbs "
—— Bishop,
Bernard Mitchel,
Isaac Mitchel,
John Streate,
Edward Gall,
John Martin, gentleman,
Thomas Fox,
Luke Lodge,

John Woodliffe, gentleman,
Richard Webb,
Vincent Low,
Samuel Burnham,
Edmund Pears, Haberdasher,
John Googe,
John St John,
Edward Vaughan,
William Dunn,
Thomas Alcocke,
John Andrews, the Younger of Cambridge,
Samuel Smith,
Thomas Gerrard,
Thomas Whittingham,
William Canning,
Paul Canning,
George Chandler,
Henry Vincent,
Thomas Ketley,
James Skelton,
James Mountaine,
George Webb, gentleman,
Joseph Newbridge, smith,
Josiah Maud,
Captain Ralph Hamer, the Younger,
Edward Brewster, the son of William Brewster.
Leonard Harwood, mercer,
Philip Druerdent,
William Carpenter,
Tristian Hill,
Robert Cock, grocer,
Laurence Green, "
Daniel Winch "
Humphrey Stile "
Averie Drausfield "
Edward Hodges, "
Edward Beale "

Thomas Cutler grocer,
Ralph Busby "
John Whittingham "
John Hide "
Matthew Shepherd "
Thomas Allen "
Richard Hooker "
Lawrence Munks "
John Tanner "
Peter Gate "
John Blunt "
Robert Phips "
Robert Berrisford "
Thomas Wells "
John Ellis "
Henry Colthurst "
John Cavady "
Thomas Jennings "
Edmond Pashall "
Timothy Bathurst "
Giles Parslow "
Robert Mildmay "
Richard Johnson, "
William Johnson, Vintner,
Ezekiel Smith,
Richard Martin,
William Sharpe,
Robert Rich,
William Stannard, Innholder,
John Stocken,
William Strachey, gentleman,
George Farmer, "
Thomas Gypes, Clothworker,
Abraham Dawes, gentleman,
Thomas Brocket, "
George Bache, fishmonger
John Dike, "

Henry Spranger,
Richard Farrington,
Christopher Vertue, Vintner,
Thomas Bayley "
George Robins, "
Tobias Hinson, grocer,
Urian Spencer,
Clement Chicheley
John Scarpe, gentleman,
James Campbell, Ironmonger,
Christopher Clitheroe, "
Philip Jacobson,
Peter Jacobson of Antwerp,
William Berkeley,
Miles Banks, cutler,
Peter Higgons, grocer,
Henry John, gentleman,
John Stokeley, merchant-taylor,
The Company of Mercers,
Grocers,
Drapers,
Fishmongers
Goldsmiths
Skinners,
Merchant-taylors
Haberdashers
Salters,
Ironmongers
Vintners
Clothworkers
Dyers,
Brewers,
Leathersellers,
Pewterers,
Cutlers,
Whitebakers,
Wax-chandlers,

The Company of Tallow-chandlers,
Armorers
Girdlers,
Butchers,
Sadlers,
Carpenters,
Cordwayners,
Barber-Chirurgeons,
Paint-Stainers,
Curriers,
Masons,
Plumbers,
Inholders,
Founders,
Poulterers,
Cooks,
Coopers,
Tylers and Bricklayers,
Bowyers,
Fletchers,
Blacksmiths,
Joiners,
Weavers,
Woolmen,
Woodmongers,
Scriveners,
Fruiterers,
Plaisterers,
Brown bakers,
Stationers,
Imbroiderers,
Upholsters,
Musicians,
Turners,
Gardiners,
Basketmakers,
Glaziers,

John Levet, merchant,
Thomas Nornicot, clothworker,
Richard Venn, Haberdasher,
Thomas Scot, gentleman,
Thomas Juxon, merchant-taylor,
George Hankinson,
Thomas Seyer, gentleman,
Matthew Cooper,
George Butler, gentleman,
Thomas Lawson, "
Edward Smith, Haberdasher,
Stephen Sparrow,
John Jones, merchant,
—— Reynolds, Brewer,
Thomas Plummer, merchant,
James Duppa, Brewer,
Rowland Coitmore,
William Southerne,
George Whitmore, Haberdasher,
Anthony Gosnold, the Younger,
John Allen, Fishmonger,
Simon Yeomans, "
Lancelot Davis, gentleman,
John Hopkins, Alderman of Bristol,
John Kettleby, gentleman,
Richard Cline, Goldsmith,
George Hooker, gentleman,
Robert Chening, yeoman ; [1]

and to such and so many, as they do, or shall hereafter admit to be joined with them, in form hereafter in these

[1] The incorporators of this charter were 56 city companies of London and 659 persons; of whom 21 were peers, 96 knights, 11 doctors, ministers, etc., 53 captains, 28 esquires, 58 gentlemen, 110 merchants, and 282 citizens and others not classified. Of these, about 230 paid £37 10s., or more ; about 229 paid less than £37 10s., and about 200 failed to pay anything. I cannot find that it was necessary to pay any particular amount in order to become a member of the Virginia company before January, 1609. I suppose it was necessary to make a payment, however. After January, 1609, no one was to be admitted to the freedom of the company for less than one share of £12

presents expressed whether they go in their persons, to be planters there in the said plantation, or whether they go not, but adventure their monies, goods, or chattles; That they shall be one body or commonalty perpetual, and shall have perpetual succession, and one common seal, to serve for the said body or commonalty; and that they, and their successors, shall be known, called and incorporated by the name of, *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia:*" Stile of the corporation.

IV. [Authorizes this company "to take and hold property," etc.]

V. [They may plead and be impleaded.]

"VI. And we do also of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, give, grant and confirm, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their successors, under the reservations, limitations, and declarations, hereafter expressed, all those lands, countries, and territories, situate, lying, and being, in that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the sea coast, to the Northward two hundred miles, and from the said point of Cape Comfort, all along the sea coast to the southward two hundred miles, and all that space and circuit of land, lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land, throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest; and also all the islands, lying within one hundred miles, along the coast of both seas of the precinct aforesaid; together with all the soils, grounds, havens, and ports, mines, as well royal mines of gold and silver, as other minerals, pearls and precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, Limits of the Colony and extent of Jurisdiction.

10s. It was afterwards proposed to increase the amount to £25; but I cannot find that this proposition was ever carried out. The persons in this charter were evidently of divers qualities, from the man of limited means to the peer of the realm. At least one hundred of them served in the House of Commons, at some time; and about fifty of these were then members of the first Parliament of James I. Parliament was not then in session; but it was in session at and before the incorporation of the first charter (V.).

commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises and preheminences, within the said territories, and the precincts thereof, whatsoever, and thereto and thereabouts, both by sea and land, being and in any sort belonging or appertaining, and which we, by our letters patents, may or can grant, in as ample manner and sort, as we or any of our noble progenitors, have heretofore granted to any company, body politick or corporate, or to any adventurer or adventurers, undertaker or undertakers, of any discoveries, Plantations, or traffick, of, in or into any foreign parts whatsoever, and in as large and ample manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed; to have and to hold, possess and enjoy, all and singular the said lands, countries and territories, with all and singular other the premises, heretofore by these presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to them, the said treasurer and company, their successors and assigns forever; to the sole and proper use of them, the said Treasurer and company, theire successors and assigns for ever; to be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, as of our manour of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage, and not in capite; [see V. arts. XVIII. and IX.] yielding and paying, therefore, to us, our heirs, and successors, the fifth part only of all ore of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be there gotten, had, or obtained for all manner of services.

Habendum.

Tenure.

"VII. And nevertheless our will and pleasure is, and we do, by these presents, charge, command, warrant, and authorise, that the said Treasurer and company, or their successors, or the major part of them, which shall be present and assembled for that purpose, shall, from time to time, under their common seal, distribute, convey, assign, and set over, such particular portions of Lands, tenements, and hereditaments, by these presents formerly granted, unto such our loving subjects, naturally born, or denizens, or others, as well adventurers as planters,

Commission of survey & distribution.

First Earl of Leicester

as by the said company (upon a commission of survey and distribution, executed and returned for that purpose,) shall be nominated, appointed and allowed; wherein our will and pleasure is, that respect be had, as well of the proportion of the adventurer, as to the special service, hazard, exploit, or merit of any person so to be recompenced, advanced, or rewarded.

"VIII. And forasmuch, as the good and prosperous success of the said plantation cannot but chiefly depend next under the blessing of God, and *the support of our royal authority*, upon the provident and good direction of the whole enterprize, by a careful and understanding Council, and that it is not convenient that all the adventurers shall be so often drawn to meet and assemble, as shall be requisite for them to have meetings and conference about the affairs thereof; therefore we do ordain, establish and confirm, that there shall be perpetually one Council here resident, according to the tenour of our former letters patents; which council shall have a seal, for the better government and administration of the said plantation, besides the legal seal of the company or corporation, as in our former letters patents is also expressed.

One Council to be in England.

"IX. And further, we establish and ordain, that Henry, Earl of Southampton; William, Earl of Pembroke; Henry, Earl of Lincoln; Thomas, Earl of Exeter; Robert Lord Viscount Lisle; Lord Theophilus Howard; James Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells; Edward, Lord Zouch; Thomas, Lord La Warr; William, Lord Monteagle; Edmond Lord Sheffield; Grey, Lord Chandois; John, Lord Stanhope; George, Lord Carew; Sir Humfrey Weld, Lord Mayor of London; Sir Edward Cecil, *Sir William Wade*,[1] *Sir Henry Neril*, *Sir Thomas Smith*, *Sir*

Names of the Members.

[1] There were really two royal councils, "His Majesties Council for Virginia," from 34° to 45° north latitude (see VI. and XII.), and "His Majesties Council for the Virginia Company," from 34° to 40° north latitude. Those whose names are in italics were members of both of these councils.

Oliver Cromwell, Sir Peter Manwood, *Sir Thomas Challoner*, Sir Henry Hobart, Sir Francis Bacon, *Sir George Coppin*, *Sir John Scot*, Sir Henry Carey, Sir Robert Drury, Sir Horatio Vere, Sir Edward Conway, *Sir Maurice Berkeley*, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Michael Sondes, *Sir Robert Mansel*, *Sir John Trevor*, Sir Amias Preston, Sir William Godolphin, *Sir Walter Cope*, *Sir Robert Killigrew*, Sir Henry Fanshawe, *Sir Edwin Sandys*, Sir John Watts, *Sir Henry Montague*, *Sir William Romney*, *Sir Thomas Roe*, Sir Baptist Hicks, Sir Richard Williamson, Sir Stephen Poole, Sir Dudley Digges, Christopher Brooke Esq. *John Eldred*, and John Wolstenholme, shall be our Council for *the said Company* of Adventurers and Planters in Virginia.

Treasurer.

"X. And the said Thomas Smith we do ordain to be treasurer of the said Company; which treasurer shall have authority to give order for the warning of the Council and summoning the Company, to their courts and meetings.

Council & treasurer, how chosen, and vacancies supplied.

"XI. And the said council and treasurer, or any of them shall be from henceforth, nominated, chosen, continued, displaced, changed, altered, and supplied, as death, or other several occasions, shall require, out of the company of the said adventurers, by the voice of the greater part of the said

Their term of office was for life, unless they be displaced. Of the fifty-two members of the council for the company named in this charter, fourteen were members of the House of Lords, and about thirty of the House of Commons. Reference to the Biographical Index will show the various parts of England represented. These royal councils formed an especial feature in the companies organized for colonization, by which the colonies were really attached to, and placed under the authority and protection of, the crown; but the Virginia companies were also organized, within themselves, for business purposes, as the East India and other purely commercial companies were, with a treasurer or governor, a deputy, auditors, committeemen, a secretary, a bookkeeper, a husband, and a beadle or messenger.

I have allowed most of the names in this charter to remain as given in Stith's History, though many are certainly given incorrectly, because there seems to have been no fixed way for spelling many names, and therefore it is frequently impossible to say which mode of spelling is correct.

company and adventurers, in their assembly for that purpose: Provided always, that every counsellor, so newly elected, shall be presented to the Lord Chancellor of England, or to the Lord High Treasurer of England, or to the Lord Chamberlain of the household of us, our heirs, and successors, for the time being, to take his oath of a counsellor to us, our heirs and successors, for the said Company of adventurers and colony in Virginia."

XII. [Provides for a deputy treasurer, etc.]

"XIII. And further, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, we do, by these presents, give and grant full power and authority to our said Council, here resident, as well at this present time, as hereafter from time to time, to nominate, make, constitute, ordain, and confirm, by such name or names, stile or stiles, as to them shall seem good, and likewise to revoke, discharge, change, and alter, as well all and singular governors, officers, and ministers, which already have been made, as also which hereafter shall be by them thought fit and needful to be made or used, for the government of the said colony and plantation;

Council in England, to appoint & remove officers, &c.

"XIV. And also to make, ordain and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary, for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation; and the same at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke, or change, not only within the precincts of the said colony, but also upon the seas in going, and coming, to and from the said colony, as they, in their good discretion, shall think to be fittest for the good of the adventurers and inhabitants there.

To establish forms of government for the colony.

"XV. And we do also declare, that, *for divers reasons and considerations* us thereunto *especially* moving, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ordain, that immediately from and after such

On notice of the appointment of a Governor by

the Treasurer & Council, the powers of the former President & Council to cease.

time, as any such governor or principal officer, so to be nominated and appointed, by our said Council, for the government of the said colony as aforesaid, shall arrive in Virginia, and give notice unto the colony there resident of our pleasure in this behalf, the government, power, and authority of the President and Council, heretofore by our former letters patents there established, and all laws and constitutions, by them formerly made, shall utterly cease and be determined, and all officers, governors, and ministers, formerly constituted or appointed, shall be discharged, anything, in our former letters patents concerning the said plantation contained, in any wise to the contrary notwithstanding; straightly charging and commanding the President and council, now resident in the said colony, upon their allegiance, after knowledge given unto them of our will and pleasure, by these presents signified and declared, that they forthwith be obedient to such governor or governors, as by our said council, here resident, shall be named and appointed, as aforesaid, and to all directions, orders and commandments, which they shall receive from them, as well in the present resigning and giving up of their authority, offices, charge and places, as in all other attendance, as shall be by them, from time to time, required."

XVI. [New members may be admitted and old ones disfranchised, by the treasurer and council, "or any four of them (the treasurer being one)."]

XVII. [Mining privileges, about as in V., Art. IX., including, however, "iron, lead, and tin, and all other minerals."]

XVIII. ["Licence to travaile to Virginia — Shippinge — Armour — Munition" — to the same purport as in V., articles XI. and XIV.]

XIX. [Colonists to be free of all subsidies and customs for 21 years, and from all taxes and impositions, forever, upon all importations or exportations "except only the five pounds per cent." due on all goods imported into England,

etc., "according to the ancient trade of merchants." Provided, the exportation is within thirteen months after importation, *i. e.*, after the first landing of said goods "within any part of those dominions."]

XX. [May expel intruders, etc., to the same purport as article XII. in V.]

XXI. [Similar to article XIII. in V., except that the duty on such British subjects as are not adventurers is increased from 2½ to 5 per cent., and the duty on aliens from 5 to 10 per cent.]

XXII. [To the same purport as article XV. in V.]

"XXIII. And forasmuch, as it shall be necessary for all such our loving subjects, as shall inhabit within the said precincts of Virginia, aforesaid, to determine to live together, in the fear and true worship of Almighty God, Christian peace, and civil quietness, each with other, whereby every one may, with more safety, pleasure, and profit, enjoy that, whereunto they shall attain with great pain, and peril; we, for us, our heirs, and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents, do give and grant unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their successors, and to such governors, officers, and ministers, as shall be, by our said Council, constituted and appointed, according to the natures and limits of their offices and places respectively, that they shall and may from time to time forever hereafter, within the said precincts, of Virginia, or in the way by sea thither and from thence, have full and absolute power and authority, to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule, all such the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, as shall, from time to time, adventure themselves in any voyage thither, or that shall, at any time hereafter, inhabit in the precincts and territories of the said Colony, as aforesaid, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by our said Council, as aforesaid, shall be established, and in defect thereof, in case of necessity, according to the good discretions of the said governor

Power of the Council in England, as to civil and religious matters.

and officers, respectively, as well in cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and other; so always, as the said statutes, ordinances and proceedings, as near, as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of our realm of this England."

XXIV. [Martial law to be enforced in cases of rebellion or mutiny.]

XXV. [To the same purport as article XVI. in V.]

XXVI. [In all questions and doubts, that shall arise upon any difficulty of construction or interpretation of anything in this or the former letters patents, the same to be construed in the most favorable manner for the said company.]

XXVII. [Former privileges confirmed.]

"XXVIII. . . . that all and singular person and persons, which shall, at any time or times hereafter, adventure any sum or sums of money, in and towards the said plantation of the said colony in Virginia, and shall be admitted by the said Council and Company, as adventurers of the said colony, in form aforesaid, and shall be enrolled in the book or records of the adventurers of the said company, shall and may be accounted, accepted, taken held, and reputed, adventurers of the said colony, and shall and may enjoy all and singular grants, privileges . . . as fully . . . as if they had been precisely . . . named and inserted in these our letters patents.

Who entitled to Privileges of adventurers.

"XXIX. And lastly, because the principal effect, which we can desire or expect of this action, is the conversion and reduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which respect we should be loath, that any person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the church of Rome: We do hereby declare, that it is our will and pleasure, that none be permitted to pass in any voyage, from time to time to be made into the said country, but such, as first shall have taken the oath of supremacy; for which purpose, we do, by these presents, give full power

To guard against the superstitions of the Church of Rome, the Oath of Supremacy to be tendered to all persons.

and authority, to the Treasurer for the time being, and any three of the Council, to tender and exhibit the said oath, to all such persons, as shall, at any time, be sent and employed in the said voyage. Although express mention of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants, by us or any of our progenitors or predecessors, to the aforesaid Treasurer and Company heretofore made, in these presents is not made; or any act, statute, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter, whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding.

"In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster, the 23d. day of May, in the seventh year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, &c.

"Per ipsum Regem. "LUKIN."

[MEM. — February 13. From the Court Minutes of the East India Company.

"Four pounds a ton to be paid for 17 tons of *cider* belonging to the Virginia Company."

Sainsbury's "Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1513–1616," p. 181 gives the word *cider*, not *iron* as sometimes quoted. Whether the correct word in the original records is cider, or iron, I know not.

February 14 Chamberlain wrote to Carleton, "News here is none at all; but that John Donne seeks to be Secretary at Virginia." Birch's "Court and Times. James I.," vol. i. p. 87.]

LXVII. THE COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA TO PLYMOUTH.

The following document was read at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society in March, 1886, by Mr. Charles Deane, LL. D., who then made some remarks thereon. The document was presented to the society by Dr. B. F. De Costa of New York, whose letter, together with the document and Mr. Deane's remarks, were published in the "Proceedings of the Society."

"A Letter from His Majesty's Council of Virginia to The Corporation of Plymouth.

"After our hartie Comendations. Having understood of your generall good disposition towards ye advancing of an intended plantation in Virginia begun by divers gentlemen and Marchaunts of the Westerne parts, which since for want of good supplies and seconds here, and that the place which was possessed there by you: aunswered not those Comodities which might keep life in your good beginnings it hath not so well succeeded as so worthy intentions and labours did merit. But by the coldness of the climate and other connatural necessities your Colonie was forced to return. We have thought fit nothing doubting that this one ill success hath quenched your affections from so hopefull and godly an action to acquaint you briefly with the Progress of our Colony, the fitness of the place for habitation, and the Comodities that through God's blessing our industries have discovered unto us. Which though perhaps you have heard at large yet upon less assuredness and credit, than this our information: —

"We having sent 3 years past and found a safe and navigable River, begun to builde and plant 50 mylees from the [mouth?] thereof; have since yearly supplyed, and sent 100 men, from whom we have assurance of a most fruitfull country for the mayntenance of man's life, and aboundant in rich Commodities safe from any daunger of the Salvages, or other ruin that may threaten us, if we joyne freely to-

gether and with one common and patient purse maintain and perfect our foundations. The staple and certain Commodities we have are, soap-ashes, pitch, tar, dyes of sundry sorts and rich values, timber for all uses, fishing for sturgeon and divers other sorts, which is in that Baye more abundant than in any part of the world known to us, making of Glass and Iron, and no improbable hope of richer mines; the assuredness of these, besides many other good and publique ends have made us resolve to send, in the month of March a large supply of 800 men under the government of the Lord De la Warr,[1] accompanyed with divers Knights and gentlemen of extraordinary rank and sufficiency. And now ..... because the great charge in furnishing such a number would be ..... hardly drawn from our single adventures, we have the pleasure to ask ..... your Corporation of Plymouth to joyne your indeavors with ours in this undertaking ..... which if you please to do, we will upon your Letters *incert you for* adventurers in ..... *our Patent*,[2] and admit and receive so many of you as shall adventure £25 in stock, in our ..... Corporation. Of which to all priviledges and liberties he shalbe as free, as if he had begun with us at the first difficulty. And whereas we have intreated the Right honorable the Earle of Pembroke to address his letters to his officers in the staneries, for providing us 100 mineral and laboring men, we do desire that such adventures as shall be consented to among you may be disbursed by some officer, chosen among yourselves for the providing a Ship, marryners and victuals for 6 months, for such a number, and to be ready by the last of March. About which time we purpose with our fleete to put in at your haven, or where else you shall appoint us, to take them in our Company. It will be too large to discourse more particularities of this business by letter or to promove with many reasons so good and forward inclinations as we hope and receive yours to be. And therefore desiring only your

[1] "The project at this time" was to send the Lord De la Warr; but this plan was not carried out at that time.

[2] The patent had then been granted and the names of the incorporators were being inserted.

speedy answer of this, and that you will please to confer with Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Mr Doctor Sutcliffe Dean of Exon, to whome we have written, to assist you and us herein.

"We bid you hartelie farewell.

"London the 17th of February 1608.

"Your verie loving freinds.

WM. WAADE. THO: SMYTHE.
EDWYN SANDYS. THO: ROE.
WM. ROMENY.

"To the Right Worshipfull our very loving Friends The Mayor and Aldermen of the Towne of Plymouth."

Indorsed on the back: "A letter from ye Councell of Virginia to the Corporation of Plymouth. Ye xvijth of Februarie 1608. And the Aunswere to ye same from ye Corporation."

The answer of the Corporation is now missing.

WILLIAM CECIL

First Baron Burghley

LXVIII.

NOVA BRITANNIA.

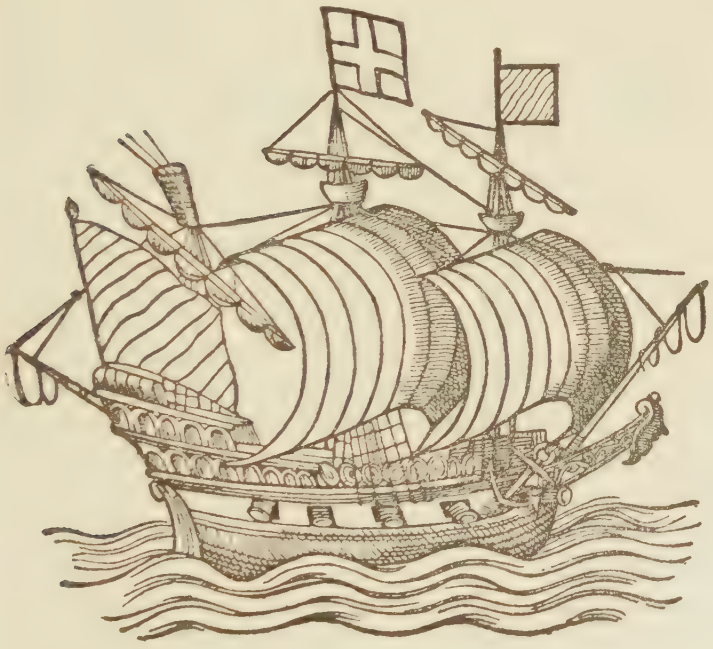
OFFRING MOST

Excellent fruites by Planting in

VIRGINIA

Exciting all ſuch as be well affected

to further the ſame.



LONDON

Printed for SAMVEL MACHAM, and are to be ſold at his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Bul-head.

1609.

LXXX. gives a fair idea of LXVIII.

This discourse was reprinted by Peter Force at Washington, D. C., in 1836, and by Joseph Sabin (edited by F. L. Hawks), New York, 1867. An original in a good state of preservation is worth about two hundred and fifty dollars.

Originals are in the following libraries: Mr. Charles H. Kalbfleisch of New York, the John Carter-Brown, the Library of Congress, and in the Virginia State Library.

Zuñiga must have bought one of the first copies that issued from the press. It was entered for publication on the 18th of February, and on the 23d he sent a copy to Philip III. of Spain.

"Nova Britannia" was entered at Stationers' Hall, for publication, on the 18th of February, 1609, "under the handes of My Lord Byshopp of London [Thomas Ravis, D. D.] and the wardens." It is dedicated "To the *Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith of London, Knight* one of his *Maiesties Councell for Virginia*, and Treasurer for the Colonie, and Governour of the Companies of the *Moscovia* and *East India* Merchants; Peace, health and happinesse in *Christ*.

"Right Worshipfull Sir, forasmuch as I have alwayes observed your honest zeale to God, accompanied with so excellent carriage and resolution, in actions of best consequence, I cannot but discover unto you for your further encouragement, the summe of a private speech or discourse, touching our plantation in *Virginia*, uttered not long since in London, where some few adventurers (well affecting the enterprise) being met together touching their intended project, one among the rest stood up and began to relate (in effect) as followeth.

"R. I." [Robert Johnson?]

The Discourse, of about 12,000 words, is an earnest appeal in behalf of the colony of Virginia. The author begins by saying: "Whereas in our last meeting and conference the other day, observing your sufficient reasons

answering all objections, and your constant resolution to go on in our Plantation, they gave me so good content and satisfaction, that I am driven against myselfe, to confesse mine own error in standing out so long, whereby many of you (my friends) were engaged in the businesse before mee, at whose often instigations I was but little moved, and lightly esteemed of it, till being in place, where observing the wise and prudent speech of a worthy gentleman, (well knowne to you all) a most painful mannager of such publike affayres within this cittie, which moved so effectually, touching the publike utilitie of this noble enterprise, that with-holding no longer, I yeelded my money and endeavours as others did, to advance the same, and now upon more advised consideration, I must needes say I never accompted my poore means employed to better purpose, then (by Gods helpe) the successe of this may bee, and therefore I cannot but deliver (if you please to heare) what I rudely conceive of a suddaine."

LXIX. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 12.

Copy of a deciphered letter written by Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated Higuet (Highgate?) March 5, 1609.

"SIRE. —

"On December 12th [2, English style] I wrote to Y. M. how two vessels left here for Virginia,[1] and afterwards I

[1] I have not as yet found a copy of this letter of December $\frac{2}{12}$, 1608, and therefore I can only guess about these "two vessels," as I have found no other mention of them, In the letter of January $\frac{5}{15}$, 1609 (LXII.), Zuñiga writes of the sailing of "a good ship and a tender." This may be the same voyage as that mentioned in the said letter of December $\frac{2}{12}$, or it may be (as it seems that no letter of this date can be found) that Zuñiga meant to refer to his letter of January $\frac{5}{15}$, and erred by giving a wrong date. However, I believe there were expeditions sent to North Virginia about this time, and after, of which we have found no account. See also note 2, p. 247.

heard that they carried up to 150 men most of whom were men of distinction. And likewise I wrote to Y. M. [LXIII.] on Jan' 17th how they would make still greater efforts, and spoke of sending the Baron de Arundel with a number of people, who has told me that they have excluded him, because in order to go, he asked this King for a Patent and for money, and likewise he tells me he had asked that liberty of conscience should be given in that country. This is what he asserts; but the truth is that they have failed to send him out because he is suspected of being a Catholic. He is dissatisfied and has told me that if Y. M. would do him the favor to reward him for the services in Flanders,[1] he would be of particular usefulness in this affair. It seems to me he is all jealousy, that they have made the Varon de la Warte [Lord Delawar] general and Governor of Virginia, who is a Kinsman of Don Antonio Sirley [Sherley]. They assure me, he has said that Y. M. pays no attention, so far, to the people who go there and this has made them so reckless that they no longer send their little by little as heretofore, but they command that Captain Gacht [Sir Thomas Gates] go there, who is a very special soldier and has seen service among the Rebels. He takes 4. to 500 men and 100 women, and all who go have first to take the oath of the supremacy of the King [James I.]. He will sail within a month or a month and a half, and as soon as the news of his arrival is received here the "Varon de la Warte" [Baron de la Warr] is to sail with 600 or 700 men, and a large part of them principal men and a few women, and when he gets there, the Gacht [Gates] will return here to take more men. They have offered him, that all the pirates who are outside of this Kingdom, will be pardoned by the King, if they will take refuge there, and the thing is so perfect — according to what they say — for making use of these pirates, that Y. M. will not be able to get the silver from the Indies, unless a

[1] Strachey says, that "Lord Arundell" was in the service of the Archduke, when Weymouth returned in July, 1605.

very large force should be kept there, and that they will make Y. M.'s vassals lose their trade, since this is the design with which they go.

"The Baron de Arondel offers to leave here, whenever Y. M. may command, under the pretext of a voyage of discovery, and that in the Canaries or in Porto Rico he will take on board his ship the person whom Y. M. will send to him, as a man who is fleeing from Spain, and will carry him to Virginia and instruct him as to the mouth of the river, the posts which the English hold and the fortifications which they have, and that soon he will tell Y. M. by what means those people can be driven out without violence in arms. I am of the opinion that the business is very far advanced and that Y. M. ought not to apprehend much on account of these chances, since during the time of these goings and comings they will place there a large number of people, because they have too many of them and do not know what to do for them; and the time may come when this King will take a hand in this business openly,[1] and Y. M. might find it very difficult to drive them out from there, and it might come to breaking all these treaties on this ground, which is largely asserted. Hence Y. M. will command that they should be destroyed with the utmost possible promptness, and when this news arrives here, altho' they may resent it, they will say that they ought not to have been there, because when I spoke with the King about their going to the Indies and to those countries he said to me, that he could not hold them otherwise than according to the Treaty, if they gathered together there they were liable to be punished. I send Y. M. a '*placarte*,' [LXX.] [a broadside advertisement] which has been issued to all officials, showing what they give them for going; and there has been gotten together in *20 days*[2] *a*

[1] It was the constant dread of the Spanish Government, that King James would take the enterprise openly under the protection of the crown, and yet when he did so, we have been told that it was done especially to please Spain.

[2] This goes to show that the subscriptions began on or before February 3, 1609.

sum of money for this voyage which amazes one; among fourteen Counts and Barons they have given 40,000 ducats, the Merchants give much more, and there is no poor, little man, nor woman, who is not willing to subscribe something for this enterprise, — Three counties have pledged themselves that they will give a good sum of money, and they are negotiating with the Prince [of Wales] that he shall make himself *Protector of Virginia*, and in this manner they will go deeper and deeper into the business, if *Y. M. does not* order them to be stopped very promptly. They have *printed a book* [LXVIII. and LXXX.] which I also send Y. M., in which they call *that country New Britain* and in which they publish that *for the increase of their religion and that it may extend over the whole world, it is right that all should support this Colony with their person and their property.* It would be a service rendered to God, that Y. M. should cut short a swindle and a robbery like this, and one which is so very important to Y. M.'s royal service. If they go on far with this they must needs get proud of it and disregard what they owe here, and if Y. M. chastises them, he puts a bridle upon them and thus will make them see to it before they undertake anything against the King's service. I confess to Y. M. that I write this with indignation, because I see the people are mad [crazy, wild] about this affair and shameless. I have also seen a letter[1] written by a gentleman who is over there in Virginia, to another friend of his, who is known to me, and has shown it to me. He says that from Captain Newport, who is the bearer of it, he will learn in detail how matters are there, and that all he can say is that there has been found a moderate mine of silver and that the best part of England cannot be compared with that country. He says furthermore, that they have deceived the King of that part of the country by means of an English boy,[2] whom they have given him saying that he is a son of

[1] This letter was not inclosed to the King, and must now be lost forever.

[2] This was Thomas Savage, I suppose, who had been left by Newport with Powhatan in exchange for Namontack.

this King, and he treats him very handsomely; he has sent a present to this King.

"I understand that as soon as they are well fortified they will kill that King and the savages, so as to obtain possession of everything. I send Y. M. the chart[1] which the Members of the Council of Virginia have; they have told me that the numbers are marked, and that they count them, as well as the others which are at the top, in such a way that they go up to 39. I have also drawn a line where the entrance to the river is and there will be seen the depth of it. I mark where the English are, and all the rest till below, are dwellings of the Savages. They say that they cannot disembark at any other part of the river with a vessel. I have thought it my duty to report this to Y. M. by this Courier: because Y. M. ought very promptly to give orders to make an end of this. I have also been told that two vessels are leaving Plymouth with men to people that country which they have taken, which is farther of.[2]

"May Our Lord," etc.

[MEM. — The following documents LXX. and LXXX. were inclosed in the foregoing letter.]

[1] I have not yet found this "*Chart which the Members of the Council of Virginia had:*" but I still hope to find it. I believe it to be a most valuable document, and shall use my best endeavors to secure a copy, if it still remains.

[2] This was certainly an expedition for North Virginia. See also note 1, p. 243.

LXX. BROADSIDE CONCERNING VIRGINIA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2587, FOLIOS 10, 11.

Copy of a document on the cover of which is said: "To be sent to H. M. the King." Inclosed in the letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated March 5 (February 23) 1609.

"Concerning the Plantation of Virginia New Britain.

"In as much as it may please God, for the better strengthening of the Colony of Virginia, it has been determined by many noble persons, Counts, Barons, Knights, Merchants and others, to make a voyage there very speedily as is necessary, and in order that so honorable a voyage and a work so pleasing to God, and of such great usefulness for this Commonwealth in many respects, may find support and be prospered by all necessary ways and means, in which voyage many noble and generous persons have resolved to go themselves, and are already preparing and making ready to that effect. — Therefore, for the same purpose this paper has been made public, so that it may be generally known to all workmen of whatever craft they may be, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, shipwrights, turners and such as know how to plant vineyards, hunters, fishermen, and all who work in any kind of metal, men who make bricks, architects, bakers, weavers, shoemakers, sawyers and those who spin wool and all others, men as well as women, who have any occupation, who wish to go out in this voyage for colonizing the country with people. And if they wish to do so, will come to 'Fitpot len' [Filpot Lane] street, to the house of Sir Thomas Smith, who is Treasurer of this Colony, and there they will be enlisted by their names and there will be pointed out to such persons what they will receive for this voyage, viz. five hunfired 'reales' for each one, and they will be entered as Adventurers in this aforesaid voyage to Virginia, where

they will have houses to live in, vegetable-gardens and orchards, and also food and clothing at the expense of the Company of that Island, and besides this, they will have a share of all the products and the profits that may result from their labor, each in proportion, and they will also secure a share in the division of the land for themselves and their heirs forever more. Likewise, if they should give anything to add to the funds that have been collected for that voyage, they will receive additional shares in the distribution of goods and of land over there, in accordance with the amount they may have given, — and in the same way, all who may desire to give one hundred 'Philips' before the last day of March will be admitted as Members in this Virginia Company and will receive a proportionate share of the profits and advantages, of this amount, altho' they do not go in person on this voyage."[1]

LXXI. HUGH LEE TO THOMAS WILSON FROM LISBON, PORTUGAL, MARCH $\frac{16}{26}$, 1609.

SALNSBURY'S CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL. EAST INDIES, 1571-1616, NO. 432

. . . . . .

"Five caracks sailed on the $\frac{12}{22}$ instant for the East Indies, laden with merchandise, and carrying in the place of soldiers, children and youths from the age of ten upwards, to the number of 1.500; in a few years they say these children will be able to do good service, their bodies being well acquainted with the climate of those countries; thinks it were no evil course to follow in England for planting inhabitants in Virginia; it is forced by necessity in Lisbon."

[1] Zuñiga says the foregoing "*placarte*" had been "issued to all officials." I doubt if it was a printed broadside. He does not refer to it as printed, as he does to LXXX. If it was a printed broadside, it was probably the first "*print*" of his Majesty's Council for the Company, and I doubt if a single original remains. It was circulated prior to February 23, probably as early as February 3, 1609, about which time the subscriptions began.

LXXII. THE COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA TO THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

I do not know the exact date of either LXXII. or LXXIII., but they were written prior to March 20, 1609. Copies have been preserved by several of the guilds of London. They have never been published in America.

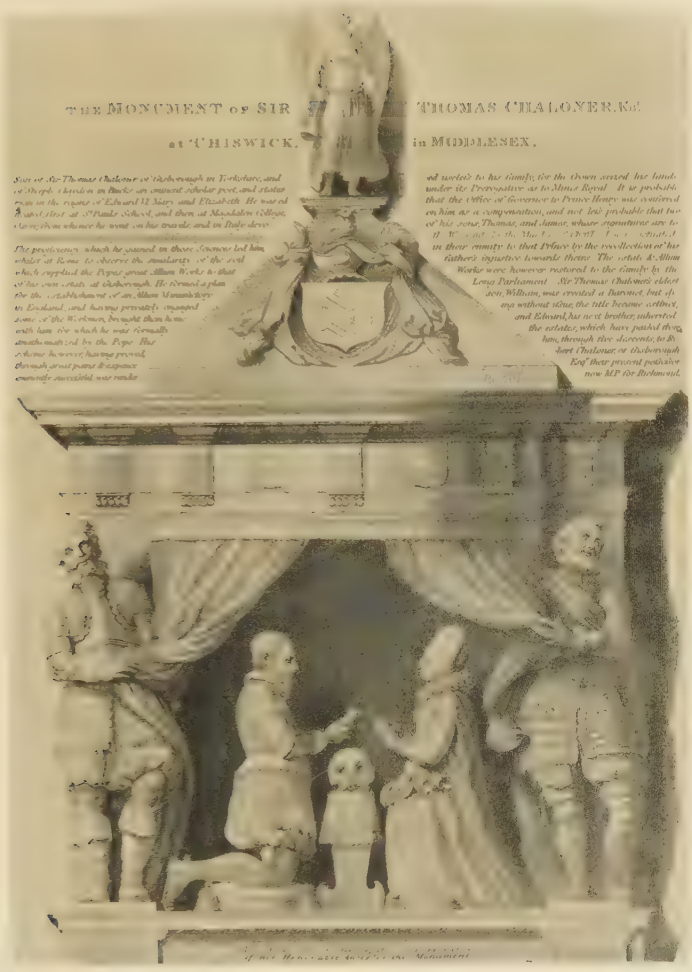
Sir Humfrey Weld was the Lord Mayor from October, 1608, to October, 1609.

I believe none of the documents given from the muniments of the city companies of London have ever been published in America. They illustrate the part taken by the incorporated trades in the great movement for making America an English Protestant commonwealth.

Of the twelve great companies of London, the records of the Salters and Vintners were destroyed in the fire of London in 1666. I understand that the books of the Drapers, Goldsmiths, Haberdashers and Skinners throw no light on the subject. I shall give extracts from the muniments of the Mercers, Grocers, Fishmongers, Merchant-Taylors, Ironmongers, and Clothworkers, and also from the Stationers Company. I am under special obligations to the clerks of these companies. Some of the extracts given are very brief; but if we take them all together we shall obtain a very fair idea of the part taken by these guilds in the movement. I am especially anxious to place on record my very great obligation in these premises to Mr. J. A. Kingdon, Member of the Court of Assistants and a past Master of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of London, who had the records of his company thoroughly searched, both for historical and biographical data, and has aided me in every way.

It is interesting to note the mode of conducting business in these old companies, and as an example I have given full extracts from the records of the Grocers Company, retaining the names of the members present at the court.

Much has been written of the part taken by Plymouth,



THE MONUMENT OF SIR THOMAS CHALONER

Bristol, and other cities in the planting of English colonies in America, but it does not seem to me that full justice has been given to London in this matter. Stowe, writing about 1603, says, "The private Riches of London, resteth chiefly in the Hands of the Merchants and Retailers. . . . London by the Advantage of its situation disperseth foreign Wares (as the Stomach doth meat) to all the members most commodiously. By the Benefit of the River of Thames, and great Trade of Merchandize, it is the Chief Maker of Mariners, and Nurse of Our Navy and Ships, which (as Men Know) be the wooden Wall for defence of Our Realm." More than four hundred years before this Fitz Stephen wrote: "Amongst the noble cities of the World, honoured by Fame, the city of London is the one principal Seat of the Kingdom of England, whose Renowne is spread abroad very far; but she transporteth her Wares and commodities much farther, and advanceth her Head so much the higher. . . . To this city Merchants bring in Wares by ships from every Nation under Heaven."

At the time of which I write the citizens and merchants of London, the metropolis, with the earnest coöperation of other cities, towns, etc., were taking an especial interest in the encouragement of English colonization, advancing English commerce, and making discoveries in unknown regions. British energy and enterprise were beginning to take firm hold and to settle abroad over the face of the earth. The home of the English-speaking people was then a mere speck on the globe; but since then they have continued to overspread the world, until now the British flag is always floating in the sunshine. And although this flag no longer floats over us, no country illustrates more completely the wonderful progress of the English-speaking people than this, for here there are sixty millions where less than three hundred years ago there was not one.

"A Letter from the Councill and Company of the honourable Plantation in Virginia to the Lord Mayor, Alderman and Companies of London.

"Whereas the Lords of his Majesties Councill, Commissioners for the Subsidy, desirous to ease the city and suburbs of a swarme of unnecessary inmates, as a contynual cause of dearth and famine, and the very originall cause of all the Plagues[1] that happen in this Kingdome, have advised your Lordshipp and your Brethren in a case of state, to make some voluntary contribucon for their remove into this Plantation of Virginia, which wee understand you all seemeth to like as an action pleasing to God and happy for this Comon Wealth.

"Wee the Councill and Company of this honourable Plantacon willing to yield unto your Lordship and them all good satisfaccon, have entered into consultation with ourselves what may be the charge of every private man and what every private family, which wee send herewith at large, not as a thing which wee seek to exact from you, but that you may see, as in a true glasse, the precise charge, which wee wholly commend to your grave wisdome, bothe for the sum and manner of levy: only give us leave thus far to enforme you that we give noe Bills of adventure for a lesse sum than £12. 10., presuming it would breed an infinite trouble nowe and a confusion in the contribucon; But if your Lordship make any easement or raise any voluntary contribution from the best disposed and most able of the companies, wee are willing to give our Bills of adventure to the Masters and Wardens to the Generall use and behoofe of that Companie. If by wards to the Alderman and his Deputy, to the perpetuall good of that ward, or otherwise, as it shall please you and your Brethren out of your better experience to direct. And if the inmate called before you and enjoined to remove shall alleadge he hath not place to remove unto, but must lye in the streetes; and being offred to go this Journey, shall demaund what may

[1] This element is said to have carried the plague to Virginia.

be theire present mayntenance, what maye be theire future hopes? it may please you to let them Knowe that for the present they shall have meate, drinke and clothing, with an howse, orchard and garden, for the meanest family, and a possession of lands to them and their posterity, one hundred acres for every man's person that hath a trade, or a body able to endure day labour, as much for his wief, as much for his child, that are of yeres to do service to the Colony, with further particular reward according to theire particular meritts and industry.

"And if your Lordship and your Brethren shall be pleased to put in any private adventures for yourselves in particular, you shall be sure to receive accordinge to the proporc̄on of the adventure, equall parte with us adventurers from the beginning, both of the commodities returned and lands to be divided.

"And because you shall see, being Aldermen of soe famous a cittie, wee give you due respect, wee are contented, having but one badge of grace and favour from his Maj^tie to participate with you therein and to make as many of you as shall adventure ffifty pounds or more, fellow Councellors from the ffirst day with us who have spent double and treble as much as is required abiding the hazard of three severall discoveries with much care and diligence and manie daies attendance.

"And as your Deputies are your Assistants in your private wards soe shall as many of them as will adventure but £25. present money, be made Partners of this Companie and Assistants of this Councell.

"And thus, as an action concerning God, and the advancement of religion, the present ease, future honor and safety of the Kingdome, the strength of our Navy, the visible hope of a great and rich trade, and many secrett blessings not yett discovered; wee wholly com̄end the cause to the wisdome and zeal of yourself and your Brethren, and you and it, and us all to the holy protecc̄on of the almightie."

LXXIII. PRECEPT OF THE LORD MAYOR.

The precept of the Lord Mayor of London to the London Companies.

"To the Masters and Wardens of the Companie of [*Merchants to whom sent*]

"These are to charge and require you immediately upon receipt of the annexed letter [LXXII.] from the Councill and Company of the honourable Plantac̄on in Virginia, that you call before you your said Companie and acquainting them with the contents of the said letter to deale very earnestly and effectually with every of them to make some adventure in soe good and honourable action."

LXXIV. EXTRACT FROM FISHMONGERS' RECORDS.

At a Court of Assistants of the Fishmongers of London held at their Hall the 20th March 1608 (O. S.).

. . . . . .

"At the same Court Mr. Warden Poyntell did bring a Precept from the Lord Mayor [LXXIII.] directed to this Company to call all the Company together and very effectually to exhort them to venture money to Virginia for Plantation thereat; and most of the Livery having been spoken with all and the generality of the Company now being warned and particularly, earnestly, persuaded to adventure anything — Wherefore it is agreed that answer shall be made to the Precept accordingly."

LXXV. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME, 2587. FOLIO 18.

Copy of an extract from a deciphered letter of the Ambassador Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated at (Highgate) April 1, 1609.

"Sire. . . . By Ribas I reported to Y. M. the dangerous

manner in which they hasten the fortifying of Virginia, and now I see that it is even more dangerous, since the Baron *Lavarre* and *the Captain Gacht*[1] have taken a much larger force of men than I had reported, and since they now expect those whom the Rebels will send there.[2] And if once they are fortified there this King here will declare himself the Master of that Country and thereupon the peace which Y. M. now keeps with him, as I have said, might be broken."[3]. . .

LXXVI. SERMON BY RICHARD CRAKANTHORPE.

FROM VIRGINIA VETUSTA BY EDWARD D. NEILL, PAGES 36, 37.

Various influences moved various men; but the movement was especially controlled by those who wished to advance the kingdom of England, the commerce of England, and the Church of England; and while very many were interested in all of these, it may be said that the officials of the government were the leaders in the desire to spread the English possessions; the merchants, in the desire to spread the English commerce, and the ministers, in the desire to spread the English religion.

The sermons and discourses of the ministers will therefore be most apt to furnish us with the motives, the ideas, etc., which influenced the Church of England in aiding and advancing the movement for planting colonies in America, and I will therefore, from time to time, give extended extracts from their sermons and discourses.

On the 24th of March, 1608 (O. S.), the anniversary of the accession of King James, Richard Crakanthorpe, a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and an able theologian of Puritan tendencies, preached a sermon in the open air,

[1] Lord De la Warr and Sir Thomas Gates. The expedition had not yet sailed.

[2] The English soldiers from the Netherlands? (See CXLIII.)

[3] In 1624, soon after King James declared war against Spain, he "declared himself the Master of that Country."

at Paul's Cross, and in these words alluded to the new expedition for Virginia: —

"Let the honourable expedition now intended for Virginia be a witness, enterprised, I say not, auspiciis, but by the most wise and religious direction and protection of our chiefest pilot [James I.], seconded by so many honourable and worthy personages in the State and Kingdom, that it may justly give encouragement with alacrity and cheerfulness for some, to undertake; for others, to favour so noble, and so religious an attempt I may not stay, in this straightness of time, to mention, much less to set forth unto you, the great and manifold benefits which may redound to this our so populous a nation, by planting an English Colony in a territory as large and spacious almost as is England, and in a soil so rich, fertile, and fruitful as that; besides the sufficiency it naturally yields for itself, may with best convenience supply some of the greatest wants and necessities of these Kingdoms. But this happiness which I mention, is a happy and glorious work indeed of planting among those poor and savage, and to be pitied Virginians, not only humanity instead of brutish incivility, but religion also . . . This being the honourable and religious intendment of this enterprise, what glory! What honour to our Sovereign! What comfort to those subjects who shall be means of furthering of so happy a work, not only to see a New Britain in another world, but to have also those as yet heathen barbarians and brutish people, together with our English, to learn the speech and language of Canaan."

[Mem. — After a long negotiation a truce of twelve years was agreed to, thus concluding the war which for near half a century had been carried on with such fury between Spain and the States of the United Provinces, March 30, 1609.]

LXXVII. EXTRACT FROM GROCERS' RECORDS.

Extract from Wardens' Accounts (July) 1608 to (July) 1609 of the Grocer's Company.

"Casual Receipts

"Rec^{d} of divers persons of this Company sundry particular somes as money by them adventured of their owne voluntarie disposition towardes the plantac̄on of Virginia amountinge to the some of LXIX.^{li} [1] which sayde moneys lyeth alwayes reddie to be disposed of as to Mr. Wardens and the Right worshipful the Assistants shall seeme most meete and expedient, yf it be not ymployed to the intended purpose." } LXIX.^{li} [1]

LXXVIII. EXTRACT FROM GROCERS' RECORDS.

COURT MINUTES, GROCERS' COMPANY.

"Die veneris 31. day March 1609. 7. James.

"Second quarter day. — [present]

"The Right Honorable The Lord Mayor [S^{r} H. Weld.] M^{r} Sheriffe Bolles.

M^{r} Robert Cocks, M^{r} Edmond Peshall, M^{r} Timothy Batherst, *Wardens*.

M^{r} George Holman,	M^{r} John Newman,
" Humphrey Walcott,	" Giles Parsloe,
" Richard Pyott,	" Richard Aldworth,
" Robert Sandy,	" Anthony Soda,
" Robert Bowyer,	" Thomas Bull,
" Thomas Nutt,	" Robert Morer,
" W^{m} Pennyfather.	

"Post Meridiem sive post prand. This daye in the afternoon the call of the Generallitie and the reading of the ordinances was sparred in respect of extraordinarie business

[1] li. is an abbreviation for the Latin *libra* (a pound); lb. is an abbreviation for the same word in weight.

now in hand namelie the readinge as well of a letter sent from the Counsell and Company [LXXII.] of the honorable plantacion of Virginia, as alsoe of a precept sent from the [LXXIII.] Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, unto this Companie the chief scope and purporte whereof is to rayse some voluntary contribution out of the best disposed and most hable of the Companie towards the sayd plantacion and further as by the sayde letter and precepte more plainly maie appear — a true coppie whereof are hereunder wrytten. After the readinge of which sayde letter and precept yt pleased the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor to make a most worthie and pithie exortac̄on unto the generallitie concerning the premises requiringe every of them in his particular person to come up to the Clarke and to set downe what and how much he will contribute for soe honorable a service, — which was done accordinglie, and also notice taken and theire names sett downe as well those which weare contributors as those which denyed and refused to make any such contribuc̄on." [This very interesting list cannot now be found among the muniments of the Grocers' Company.]

LXXIX. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 19.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated (Highgate) April 12, 1609.

"SIRE: —

"Much as I have written to Y. M. of the determination they have formed here to go to Virginia, it seems to me that I still fall short of the reality, since the preparations which are made here, are the most energetic that can be made here, for they have actually made the ministers in their sermons[1] dwell upon the importance of filling the

[1] I have quoted the Rev. Richard Crakanthorpe's sermon (LXXVI.) of March 24, and the Rev. Daniel Price in his sermon of the 28th of May,

world with their religion and demand that all make an effort to give what they have for such a grand enterprise. Thus they are getting together a good sum of money and make a great effort to carry masters and workmen there, to build ships. They send eight great masters by force and more than 40 workmen. I understand they have there timber cut and ready, and that they will leave the place where they first fortified themselves, because it is very unhealthy and many of them had died there, and that farther up the river they had found a good site. A man whom I can trust, altho' he is a heretic, has told me that speaking the other day with the High Chancellor, (Thos Egerton Lord Ellesmere &c) he asked him what all this excitement meant that was being seen here about going to Virginia to have fortifications there, he replied to him: We always thought at first we would send people there little by little, and now we see that the proper thing is to fortify ourselves all at once, because when they will open their eyes in Spain they will not be able to help it, and even tho' they may hear it, they are just now so poor that they will have no means to prevent us from carrying out our plan. Y. M. will see the great importance of this matter for your Royal service and thus, *I hope, will give orders to have these insolent people quickly annihilated.*

"May our Lord," etc.

LXXX. NEW BRITAIN.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIOS 20, 21.

Folio 20 (included in 19). "This is an envelope on which is said: Herewith follows the translation of the papers which the letters of Don Pedro de Zuñiga referred

mentions a previous sermon of the Dean of Glocester (Morton) before his Majesty and nobles, wherein he said "that it is a voyage wherein every Christian ought to set to his helping hand, seeing the Angel of Virginia crieth to this Land as the Angel of Macedonia did to Paul; O! come and help us."

to [see LXIX.] made by Father Cresuelo, and *a summary of what* they contain; but it will be well that Y. Exc^cy^ should see them themselves.

"May God preserve Y. Ex.^y^ as I desire.

"Madrid. April 4. 1609.

[Signed] "ANDREAS DE PRADA."

The inclosed papers with the letters that referred to them could not be seen [by the king?] because they were not translated and thus they are put here with this which treats of the same subject.

"Decree: His Majesty has seen them and commands that they shall be examined with the letters and that above all there shall be reported to him what may appear best. May God preserve &c.

"In the Palace. April 10. 1609. [Mar. 31.]

[Signed] "The Duke" [Lerma].

Folio 21 (inclosed in folio 20). This is a document on the outside of which is said: "The colonizing of Virginia."

The summary of what the document contains.

New Britain.[1]

With a statement of the great advantages which must follow the colonizing of Virginia.

Addressed (Dedicated) to the chief Treasurer of this Colony and of the Merchants of the Moscovite and the East India Companies.

1. The coasts and the lands of Virginia were discovered many years ago by the English, and we have sent Colonies there at different times and without opposition on the part of the natives of the country, nor of any other sovereign,

[1] See under February 18, 1609, (LXVIII.) for the memoranda regarding this tract. The whole tract contains nearly 12,000 words. Father Cresuelo has made an especial "*summary*" for the king of Spain of about 6,000 words, of such matter as seemed important to bring to the king's especial notice. Thus this summary is very interesting and valuable to the historian, as it shows the points which were regarded as the most important to Spain. I have added several passages in order to show the character of some of the matter which the Father omitted.

GEORGE CLIFFORD

Third Earl of Cumberland

which is sufficient argument for us, and for the fact that no other Christian King except King James, our Lord and Master, has any claim or right whatever on those lands, or on the inhabitants thereof, English or Savages, unless it be under the pretext of a Donation, which according to their statement, Pope Alexander VI. made of all America.

2. But what does it matter to us that he has done so? They must be very blind who can stumble at this. This appears at the donation of Constantine the Great by right of which the Pope claims to be the Head of the Western Empire. They are brothers; the Western Empire was given to the Pope by a secular sovereign, and the Pope gave all the Western Indies to another secular sovereign. The first donation is an ancient fable; and the other is a joke and a ridiculous invention. If there be a law like that ancient one of the Kings of the Persians: That the Pope can do what he chooses — let those obey him who choose — we do not acknowledge him as our superior.

3. Therefore, leaving aside those fables, which make no impression upon sensible men, and do not touch us, the King, our Master, is resolved not to yield anything of his Estate or his Right, left to him by his predecessor, but wants the ancient Colonies to be succored and enlarged, which we possess in those parts; and thus he has given us permission to send there more Colonists, as we have already commenced doing under the conduct of Captain "Christoval Nuport." And besides this, he has granted us many and very weighty privileges under the Great Seal of this crown, in order that the settlers in those countries may enjoy them, and likewise those who with their money may assist that colony, and with them their heirs, for ever and ever. Thus there can be no doubt that all the faithful subjects of this crown and all who are well-affectioned towards His Majesty, will help, some with their person and others with their money, to further this great work, by means of which the Kingdom of God will be enlarged and the tidings of His Truth will be proclaimed among so many millions of

savage men and women, who now live in darkness in those regions. At the same time and with it the fame of our King will be increased, his dominions will be extended, with the proper defense and protection of his subjects who are already established there, in that New World, who might otherwise, in the course of time, be exposed to danger, to be deprived of what they now own and driven out, as the French were (not many years ago) from New France, and finally there will redound to this Kingdom, and to our whole people, and to each one of us individually who venture anything in this enterprise very great and very certain advantages as will be seen below.

4. We see that only the subjects of one Christian King, who within our memory have entered the Indies, it may be because they followed up the first settlements with a few handsful of people scattered here and there, now imagine to be the Masters of the Earth, and want violently to thrust out all other nations from there, as if they alone knew how to govern and to command not only in their colonies, but in all America, which contains many provinces and Kingdoms, where up to this day, they never yet have set foot, nor even know them unless it be by name.

5. And although we might indulge them in this their fancy, and although there might be some foundation to it, in spite of all that, their strength and their means are so inferior to their thoughts, that they will never spread out enough to fill up the hundreth part of that which they wish to occupy. Of this we have clear proof since when we had open war and hostilities with them, with mere handsful of people we invaded their best and strongest fortified places, because for want of men, they were so poorly defended that we could easily have overrun the whole country and reduced them to very narrow limits (a long time ago) if we had followed up our good success.

6. But now that we have passed on without driving them from their settlements, and God in his mercy has given us another country, so remote from their habitation,

what reason is there that any one should be offended by our great success or feel envious? Or, if they are envious, why should we attach any weight to it? or why fear to "enlarge ourselves"? Or lose so fine an opportunity? Where is our ancient might and power? Where is that great repute, sleeping now, that we won so few years ago? Let not the world be deceived: we are the same now we were then and they would soon see it, if they were to give us the chance, since with the blessing of God we are more powerful now than we were then, those parts being now inclosed and in good order which at that time were open; our plant has taken root, the branches are green and very desirous to spread out.

7. But before coming to details of this earthly Paradise, I wish to recall that the first time when possession was taken of it by subjects of this crown, was in the days of King Henry the Seventh, when it was discovered at the same time that the Spaniards discovered New Spain, and thus the claim is the same in both cases. But I do not wish to attach special importance to this occupation, but to that which was made in the name of Queen Elizabeth, in the years 1584 and 1587, and later on, when Colonies of men, women and children were sent out there. The covetousness of those who had to carry out this enterprise and to succor it, turned them aside to pillage upon the Spanish Coast, where if the enterprise had been supported as it ought to have been, and by the favor of God certainly will be, all that country would already be peopled and cultivated, and would this very day (as it will be in a very short time) be a very nursery and fountaine of much wealth and strength to this Kingdom.

8. Christopher Columbus, the first Discoverer, offered himself first of all to King Henry the Seventh of this Kingdom, then (as it will be) the most powerful by sea; but no attention was paid to his offer. The Spaniards encouraged him and within less than a hundred years they have drawn from that small beginning the great results which we see;

they have extended their dominions, increased their trade, enriched their subjects and their overflowing treasury, scattering gold through the whole world, gives strength and reputation to their Kingdom, and confirms their foresight, which anticipated all the other princes. Although their arrogance, growing with their wealth has alarmed Christendom, now for forty years and more. I mention this merely to show how vigilant men have to be to understand business, the importance of business, and how careful they should be not to miss the first opportunity. But although this scheme of colonization has not been encouraged until now, as it ought to have been, henceforth this will be done, now that it is no longer the business of any one person, nor of a few private individuals but of the whole state, and that so many gentlemen of title, Knights and powerful merchants, have become interested in this enterprise, all of them sharing the same privileges and determined to venture, some their person, and some their fortune in it, who vow to avenge any opposition that might be made by any other nation. upon their persons or their property, by sea or by land. Hence we may confidently hope, with the favor of God, for sufficient strength against all such as may try to interfere with us, and a happy outcome in a short time.

9. Coming next to a description of the country,[1] the voyage is neither long nor dangerous; in six weeks they arrive there, over the great ocean, without encountering rocks, shallows, narrow straits, or the lands of other princes, who might interfere with us. Most of the winds are favorable, and not one is adverse. Then coming to the coast, deep enough water is found everywhere, with good bottom for Anchor hold, excellent beaches and harbors fit for the largest ships that can come there; and many delightful islands within sight of the firm land.

[1] In the original there is also the following scriptural illustration: "If I should say no more but with Caleb and Joshua, '*The land which we have searched out is a very good land, if the Lord love us, he will bring our people to it, and will give it us for a possession.*' This were enough to you that are willing," etc.

10. We have discovered two large rivers; one towards the north, where the Colonies of "Exceter" and "Plymou" are; and the other towards the south, large, deep, abounding in fish and with very pleasant banks, where our Colony of "London" has been established and a village has been built which they call, "Villa Diego,"[1] eighty miles inland, and they have pushed even still higher up and have discovered more than a hundred miles additional of the most charming country, all along the same river.

11. The Country is vast; the soil is good; the air is healthy: the climate very suitable to our constitution and even more temperate than that of England. The natives are savages who live in troops like cattle — some dressed in furs and others naked — without any discipline or law of life than the law of Nature. The principal ones have huts in which they can rest; generally they are humane and peaceable, and enter willingly into communication with our men and help them with all that may be needed. They are well disposed and eager to learn a better mode of life. The soil produces naturally all that is needed for the support of the inhabitants, and will produce a great deal more when it is cultivated. There is an abundance of fish of every kind; countless flocks of land and water fowl, deer, hares, rabbits, and other hunting without end; with much fruit and eatable roots, which are not known at home.

12. There are many hills and valleys, with springs and brooks of fresh water; there are also mountains and mountain ranges which promise to hold treasure. The land is full of minerals and of woods which we have not in England; the soil produces vines which hanging upon the trees produce their fruit. Here may be gathered Rosin, Turpentine, Pitch, Tar, sassafras, dye-wood; and for ships, masts, planks and everything else that is necessary. Among other things in abundance, there are white mulberry trees and silk worms without end, being now of no use, and animals with costly furs. And where Nature is so liberal in its

[1] "Villa Diego," — "James Town."

naked kind what may we not expect from it when it is assisted by human industry, and when both Nature and Art shall vie with each other to give the best content to men and all other creatures.

13. As to the two difficulties which some have mentioned: that we do not seek the salvation of the Indians but our private gain — and that without injustice we cannot take their land from them, — We reply to the former, that many things, very good in themselves, and in their final results have been commenced for less noble purposes, and thus here also the Kingdom of God will, no doubt, grow by bringing these savages to the Knowledge of the Gospel; and every one of us ought surely to do his share in that direction. As to the second objection we do not intend to dispossess the savages, but to join them for their own good, by raising them from a wretched state to a much better one. First, in regard to God their Creator, and to their Redeemer, Jesus Christ, if they are willing to believe in them, and secondly, in regard to many temporal blessings of which they have now no earthly advantage, living like beasts, assuming the duty of protecting and defending them against all enemies.

14. It is still fresh in our memory how Don Juan de Aguila, landing in Ireland (a Christian dominion, subject to a Christian King and to beneficent laws) made known that he came to free the people from the oppression of their legitimate rulers, who governed them with justice, and to lead them (as he said) into the Catholic church, although this was what he least thought of, if he did not think of acting contrary to justice under that color. If that money was at that time made by the same Masters of the Mint and passed current through the whole world, we trust that they will not be less favorable to this our enterprise, which is beyond comparison more just and better justified, since we do not intend to make their condition worse, but — at our risk and peril — by means of just and legitimate intercourse, to communicate to them first (as has been said) divine

riches, and after that, to cover their nakedness and relieve their poverty by using human clothing and human food, and to teach them, with great kindness and in friendship, many arts and handicrafts, which they admire in us and desire much to learn. In return for these advantages, we ask for nothing, but that they and we jointly should enjoy what Nature offers and what they do not know how to make use of, and thus we may think that God has kept these scattered sheep in order that they may be brought back to His flock by our agency, and thus those who should obstinately desire to impede this work of God, can be looked upon by us as Recusants, opposed to their own welfare, and can be treated as enemies of their own country.

15. The King, our Master, will gain much fame by this enterprise; because if any legitimate conquest gained by arms is glorious, this will be much more so, rescuing the poor souls from their ignorance and perdition; and since His Majesty's dominions and subjects will be added to, not by storms of raging cruelties, as the West Indies were converted with rapier point, and musket shot, murdering so many millions of naked Indians, as their Histories tell us, but with gentleness and affection, corresponding to our own condition, winning their good will and letting them enjoy the same advantages and privileges which we are going to have.

16. The Law of Moses counts it as a blessing, when the Prince and the people of God will be able to lend to every one and need to borrow of none; and I can say here confidently and with good reason, that by means of this new discovery in the West, and the footing which we already have obtained in the most important countries of the East, together with our former known Trades which we maintain with nations in other parts of the world, there is no doubt that if His Majesty will favor and encourage the merchants in their trade and commerce (as may be proper), we shall see in a very short time, his authority, his Majesty and the reputation of his wisdom extended far and near over the

whole face of the Earth; the maritime power of this Crown mightily increased and his Majesties duties and customs more than trebled. And finally, the necessity of assisting our Colonies is so urgent that it is not necessary to repeat it here.

17. There remains now only to prove that it will be beneficial to the Commonwealth and this is quite as evident. In the first place England and Holland spend every year a million of dollars on timber for shipbuilding and other purposes. We can get this from Virginia, better and cheaper by fifty per cent., which is now brought from Poland and Prussia, where the forests are nearly exhausted.

18. From there we can also obtain iron and copper, in great abundance. And the sparing of our forests is of great importance.

19. Within a few years, with our industry, this country will give us all the wine and the vinegar which we need; also fruits which do not grow in our country and which we now import at great expense from other lands.

20. It will give us likewise an abundance of salt fish; of silk, flax and hemp, because the soil is very fertile and the climate very well suited for all those things in particular, and for others, as experience has already shown us. The officials, as well as the men of experience in all these products, both of our own and of other nations whom we have sent there, promise to try to find out what may be found there and to report to us the facts. [And for the making of Pitch Tar, Turpentine, Sope-ashes, Deale, Wainscott, and such like, we have alreadie provided and sent thither skillful workmen from forraine parts, which may teach and set ours in the way, whereby we may set many thousands a worke, in these such like services.]

21. We do not mention here the mines of gold and silver, which may be found. Suffice it to say that we have that other source of wealth which is more certain, more abundant and more permanent, than those which are drawn from the bowels of the earth; because it ever circulates and

always increases with human industry, like the waters which rise and fall and irrigate the soil and make it give its fruit at the proper time, without ever coming to an end. This is the best mine and the greatest wealth, which a prince can possess. We are taught this by what we see among our neighbors, *the United States*. And how much does it add to the wealth and the strength of a commonwealth to induce and encourage merchants and others to increase navigation and to send out ships, if it were possible, to all parts of the world, in order to give an outlet to native fruit and to import those of foreign lands with greater advantage, and even to carry the products of other kingdoms from one to the other, where there is want of shipping. For in this manner men of experience will be formed and the power by land and by sea will be increased, returning continually honor and profit to the source from which they spring.

22. If we look back we shall see what a novice England was, a hundred years ago, in this commercial intercourse with foreign countries, as our people then did not know how to obtain nor where to carry anything out of their houses, so that the "Hulkas" which brought us drugs from Italy were recorded in the Chronicles, and the Hanseites of the North and the Lombards of other parts, brought us food as to children, and their Agents who lived in London sucked the whole substance of the country. And finally take this ever as a rule, that Domestic trade confined to the products of any one country alone, brings forth but poor results in that commonwealth.

23. He who should like to compare the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth with its end, would be amazed to see how Her Majesty, always opening her hand freely to succor all the princes and her neighbors in all their necessities, and maintaining perpetually such large armies and fleets in different parts in order to check her enemies, with all that, added so much to her revenues and to her power by land and by sea, improved the condition of her subjects, increasing their wealth to seven times the amount which she

found, simply by having encouraged and assisted the merchants and increased their trade and commerce with many foreign nations. The advantage springing from this noble feature of her character is incredible; everything receives its increase from where it had its beginning, and this ought to satisfy us and animate all of us, not to be slow in increasing the causes from which there are produced such results.

24. There is another example which puts us to shame that we should possess so little industry and management — that the Dutch (who have not a single stick of timber of their own, and hardly land enough to sow a grain of wheat) should have more ships than we have and a greater abundance of all supplies. The mere mention of the advantage which they have in both those things, should make us blush and bind us not to remain inferior (in points so very important in prudence and good management) to people who are so far inferior to us by many degrees in almost everything else.

25. And to return to the business: Unless we take measures to found new Colonies, the earth will not suffice to sustain the overwhelming number of human beings, — and this was the opinion of the Goths and Vandals, when, in order to relieve their home provinces, they transplanted those hosts of people that were in excess, who went and took possession of Spain, Italy and other provinces. Thus it is neither a new thing, nor an unnecessary one for this Commonwealth, that we recommend. And in this city and in this Kingdom there are men of all professions and pursuits who will be delighted to establish their homes in those new Colonies, so that they and their descendants may remain forever in perfect harmony and agreement with the laws, the language and the religion of England.

26. Three classes of people will, however, have to be excluded: First those who, under the pretext of serving their Prince, are all the time interfering with general interests in order to use them for the advantage of the few. [*I. e.*, "Monopolists, the very wrack of Merchandizing."]

FRANCIS COTTINGTON

First Baron Cottington

27. The second are the Papists: Not one of them should be admitted, nor any person seasoned with the least taint of that leaven; and if one of them should by oversight get there, he ought, as soon as discovered, to be turned out and shipped to England; because such people will never be loyal, nor will they cease (if they could) conspiring against this enterprise, to impede and disturb this new plantation.

28. The third, are bad magistrates, and on this step rests the very life and the happy success of this great business; because if they should be Papists or Atheists or Demagogues, or ambitious despots who respect no King, or vicious men who set a bad example and employ others like unto themselves, or covetous men who might sell the offices of the commonwealth for their own benefit, the whole affair will be ruined and God will refuse us His blessing.

29. On the whole, men of good character ought to be sent, and poor though they may be, the soil will make them rich and among other handicrafts the chief ought to be shipwrights, workmen, fishermen, metal founders, and although they may have no special knowledge, if they are industrious, there will be employment for many thousands of them — only they must go with this determination that all must be busy in some way and not yield to idleness.

30. In this way, our merchants will no longer sell their large ships (as has been done) to foreigners, contenting themselves with small vessels, nor will our sailors and other seafaring people, for want of work, go to seek employment in Tunis, Spain or Florence, when it is so much more advantageous that this government should employ them, as they are the most experienced in this profession that are in the world, and men of valor.

31. We shall thus, by the Mercy of God, soon get from Virginia, may be, all that is brought now from the East, and there is hope that cochineal will be found and pearls. Cloth will always have to be brought from England; because as yet there is no wool there, and thus when the Colonies are well grown and the savages are brought to civili-

zation, they will need a great abundance of Cloth and this business will once more flourish in England, with many other benefits, which we may promise ourselves from the good dispositions of our best sort of Citizens, who willingly engage themselves to undertake all new discoveries, as well this of the West, as by the Northwest to find out China. And unto the East beyond the Cape, into the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, the Straits of Sunda, and among all the Kings of East India, to the great advantage and honor of this Kingdom.

32. Such long voyages are of great importance, in order that large ships do not go out of use, because, if we continue them, we shall be so powerful that soon the merchant-fleets will suffice to encounter the fleets and the power of any other Monarch, and this Northern corner of the world will in a short time be the richest warehouse and the greatest customhouse of all kinds of merchandise to be found in Europe.

33. The King, our Master, whilst adding to our privileges, has appointed eminent men for his Virginia Council, which is to govern us. And every planter and adventurer will be registered by name in the charter of Privileges.

34. This foundation being laid we shall send promptly all we can send: men, women and children to people the country.

35. We call those Planters, who go there in person in order to stay there. And those adventurers who contribute their money and do not go in person; and both will be alike members of that Colony.

36. We assess each separate share at five hundred Reales [£12 10s.].

37. Every individual, man or woman and every child of twelve [ten?] years and upwards which may be carried there to settle, at the distribution of lands, and of the profits of the transaction, will have his share "pro rata" of one separate share, or be as if he had actually paid in five hundred reales for that purpose. But persons of extraordi-

nary character, as ministers, governors, state officers and officers of justice, knights, physicians and others who are able to render very special services to the colony, besides being honorably supplied with provisions in proportion to the quality of each one, at the expense of the commonwealth, will receive each one his share in the distribution of the lands, and in the profits, according to the amount at which their persons and their services were estimated, which with the consent of all parties will immediately be registered in a book, so that at all times it may be evident about the first settlers — when they went out to settle, and the amount at which they were valued. But if any one of those who go in person should also wish to deposit a share in the hands of the treasurer general appointed for this enterprise, in order that it may contribute to its ends and purposes, this amount also will be registered and the colonist will receive his distribution in the aforesaid division, both for his person and for the capital which he may have handed over conforming to the rates of said register.

38. All the cost of commencing and supporting this Colony and of renewing and improving the settlements, which shall occur in the first seven years, after the date of this last Charter of Privileges, which His Majesty has granted us, will be charged to the account of the same colony, by the hand of the chief treasurer and all the returns of merchandise coming from there will be sold on the same account, because it is a very reasonable thing that as we send from here, at our own expense, to those said planters all that they will need for their support and the convenience of their persons and to fortify and build for them houses, and everything else out of the common treasury ["Joint Stock"] so they also ought to return from there the fruit and the profit of their labor, to increase the aforesaid treasury till the end and completion of the aforesaid seven years.

39. Then, by the help of God, commissioners will be appointed who will make the distribution, with all fairness

and justice; both of what may have been produced by the industry of the colonists, and the profits of trade, as of the lands which His Majesty has granted us for this colony, in conformity with the rates of the aforesaid register, which will amount, as a minimum to five hundred "akers" (a measure of land, less than a "yguada" of Spain) of land for each separate share of five hundred reales.

40. And if we make an effort to send at the beginning a large number of people, well provided, no doubt after the second year, the returns that we shall receive from there will suffice not only for all the necessary expenses henceforth to sustain and improve the colony, but the capital also will be increased in such a manner that the benefit which we may expect from it shall not be less than that which we get from the other division.

41. And although land will in the beginning not be specially valuable, still it will improve as it is tilled and will surpass ours in England, being new and having a climate specially well suited for many precious products, which England does not produce. With the abundance of timber, which there is excellent and will long continue, and with everything else needed (we sending workmen from here), we shall have in a few years a hundred "Galeones" employed in this trade and commerce yearly, as good as are found at sea, and more to sell to others, all which good and much more we may lose if we pinch and spare our purses now.

42. Our ancestors on account of their lack of foresight, and their carelessness, lost the first opportunity and the first offering of the greatest treasures of the world, and we tax their omission for it, yet now the same offering and the same trial is made to their children, Divine Providence having reserved for us this magnificent region and the discovery of this great world, which it now offers to us; and since we have arms to embrace it and to hold on to it, there is no reason why we should let it escape us.

43. The reputation and the honor of our nation is now very great by his Majesty's means, and we his subjects

cannot enlarge and sustain it by gazing on and talking of what hath been done; but by doing now what our posterity will commend hereafter. If we lose the opportunity we shall despoil ourselves as the Romans did when in the days of their prosperity they had gathered the spoils of the whole world and having brought the goddess Victoria to her temple, cut her wings that she should not fly away, nor leave them, as she had gone away from other nations, and having thus placed her among their other gods, gave themselves up to idleness and inactivity, whereupon they became effeminate in a few years and lost the reputation and the valor which had enabled them to make themselves the masters of the world, losing finally their empire and becoming subjects of the very same nations almost, over whom they had ruled a little while before.

["Let not such a prize of hopeful events, so lately purchased by the hazard of our valiant men, in the deepe Seas of forreine dangers, now perish in the Haven by our neglect, the lives of our friends already planted, and of those noble Knights and Gentlemen that entend to goe shortly, must lie at our mercy to be releeved and supplied by us, or to be made a prey unto others, (though wee feare not the subjects of any Prince in amity, that they will offer wrong unto us). And howsoever wee heare tales and rumours of this and that, yet be not dismaid, for I tell you, if we finde that any miscreants have wronged, or goe about to hurt our few hundreds there, we shall be ready to right it againe with many thousands, like the giant Anteus, whose often foiles renued his strength the more. And consider well that great work of freeing the poore Indians from the devourer, a compassion that every good man (but passing by) would shew unto a beast: their children when they come to be saved, will blesse the day when first their fathers saw your faces."]

44. If those valiant warriors, our ancestors, who so readily sold their possessions in order to recover the Holy Land from the Saracens, had seen in their time such an

open door as this is to the accomplishment of such great results by such simple means (as this enterprise promises), they would certainly not have left it to us, to carry out the plan.

45. What a strange thing it is and how deserving of admiration, to find all the states and all the princes of Europe in so profound a sleep, now for so long a time that for the space of a hundred years and more, the riches and the treasures of the East and of the West found no outlet except into the coffers of one individual; until they were scattered about, as it were for the disquietude of all Europe, bringing forth a bad race of monks who have recently come to light and who with their cunning, as it were, transfix the heart of Christendom and the true religion, in all parts of the world.

[" How strange a thing is this that all the States of Europe have been a sleepe so long? That for an hundred yeares and more, the wealth and riches of the East and West should runne no other current but into one coffer, so long till the running over, spread itselfe abundantly among a factious crew of new created Friers, and that to no more speciall end, than instigating bloody plots to pierce the heart of a Christian State and true Religion.

" It is long since I read in a little treatise, made by Frith, an English Martyre, an excellent foretelling touching the happinesse of these Northern Ilands, and of great wonders that should be wrought by Scots and English, before the comming of Christ, but I have almost forgotten, and cannot readily call it to minde as I would, and therefore I omitte it now, Protesting unto you, it would be my griefe and sorrow, to be exempted from the company of so many honourable minded men, and from this enterprise, tending to so many good endes, and than which, I truely thinke this day, there is not a worke of more excellent hope under the Sun, and farre excelling (all circumstances wayed) those Noble deeds of Alexander, Hercules, and those heathen Monarks, for which they were deemed Gods among their posterity.

"And so I leave it to your consideration, with a memorable note of Thomas Lord Howard, Earle of Surry, when K. Henry the eight, with his Nobles at Dover tooke shipping for Turwin and Turney, and bidding the saide Earle farewell, whom he made Governour in his absence: the Story sayth, the Nobleman wept, and tooke his leave with teares, an admirable good nature in a valiant minde, greeving to be left behinde his Prince and Peers in such an honourable service. Finis."]

LXXXI. EXTRACT FROM THE MERCERS' RECORD.

"On the 4th April 1609, the Mercers Company considered a precept of the Lord Mayor [LXXIII.] and the letter of the Councell and Company of the honorable plantation of Virginia [LXXII.], and agreed to adventure £200. towards the same voyage of Virginia."

LXXXII. EXTRACT FROM CLOTHWORKERS' RECORD.

Court Minutes, Clothworkers' Company, April 4, 1609.

"This daie also a precept from the Lord Maior directed to this company towchinge the voiage and adventure to Virginia, a coppy also of a letter sent to the Lord Maior and Aldermen by the Councell and Company of the honorable plantacon of Virginia were openly redd to the whole assembly here present, and after the reading thereof some speeches were used by the Maister, Mr. Coleby to incourage those of the Company then presente to the said adventure. But they thereoppon did not shew any forwardnes to that adventure Save only Humfrey Hawes who said that hee had already adventured xij$^{li.}$ x$^{s.}$ (£12. 10$^{s.}$) and rather than the voiage should not proceede he would adventure xij$^{li.}$ x$^{s.}$ more, and the lyke offer was made by Thomas Weekes, whereupon bycause it was thoughte fitt by the Table that the Company should have some tyme to deliberate uppon

this matter, — It was declar'd to the whole assembly then presente that as many of them as were disposed to be adventurers in this voiage should within two daies next cominge repaire to the dwellinge howse of Mr. John Coleby, Maister of this Company, and signifie unto him what somes of money they purpose to adventure, that returne may be made to the Lord Maior of the said precepte together with the names of the Adventurers and the severall somes of money they are willinge to adventure, accordinge as by the said precepte it is required and Commanded."

[Mem. — April 5 Sir Geo. Carew wrote from Paris to Salisbury: —

"Has been told the French are in hand with the discovery of a passage into the South Sea, by the North West, and that one Poncet, a Knight of Malta, has revealed that secret to the King, and is sworn not to tell it any further; that they purpose to build forts upon a strait through which that passage lieth, to make themselves masters of it; and that this is one of the causes why the lieutenancy of Nova Francia is taken from Mons. De Monts. — For the truth of all this you must wait for the lame post."]

LXXXIII. EXTRACT FROM CLOTHWORKERS' RECORD.

At a Court of the Clothworkers' Company of London, held at their Hall, April 12, 1609.

. . . . . .

"This daie it is ordered and agreed by a full consent of the maister, Wardens and Assistants here presente that there shalbe adventured by this howse in this intended voiage towards the plantac̄on in Virginia the some of C. M^{ks} [100 Marks].

"This daie also the whole livery was warned hither to knowe their mindes what they purpose severallie to adventure towards the said plantac̄on and their severall names which were willinge to adventure together with their severall

somes yealded to be adventured were also sett downe and recorded." . . .

LXXXIV. VIRGINIA RICHLY VALUED.

Reprinted by Peter Force (vol. iv. No. 1) at Washington, D. C., in 1846, and by the Hakluyt Society of London, England, in 1851.

"Virginia richly valued, By the description of the main land of Florida her next neighbour: —

"Out of the foure yeeres continuall travell and discoverie, for above one thousand miles *East* and *West*, of Don Ferdinando de Soto, and sixe hundred able men in his companie.

"Wherin are truly observed the riches and fertilitie of of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasant, and profitable for the life of man: with the natures and dispositions of the Inhabitants.

"Written by a Portugall gentleman of Elvas, emploied in all the action, and translated out of Portuguese by Richard Hackluyt.

"At London. Printed by Felix Kyngston for Matthew Lownes and are to be sold at the signe of the Bishop's head in Paul's Church yard. 1609."

"The Epistle Dedicatorie," is "To The Right Honourable, the Right worshipfull Counsellors, and others, the cheerefull adventurors for the advancement of that Christian and noble plantation in Virginia. . . .

"From my lodging in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. of April 1609.

"By one publikely and aunciently devoted to God's service, and all yours, in this so good action

"Richard Hakluyt."

This tract is a description of the country south of Virginia. On June 12, 1609 (CIV.), the companion tract describing the country north of Virginia was entered for

publication. Both tracts were probably published under the auspices of the Virginia Company.

In 1611, "Virginia richly valued &c." was reissued with the following title.

"The Worthye and Famous History of the Travailes, Discovery & Conquest of that great Continent of *Terra Florida*, being lively Paraleld, with that of our now Inhabited Virginia. As, also, the Comodities of the said Country, with divers excellent and rich Mynes, of Golde, Silver, and other Mettals, etc. Which cannot but give us a great and exceeding hope of our Virginia, being so neere [and] of one Continent. Accomplished and effected by that worthy Generall and Captaine Don Ferdinando de Soto and six hundred Spaniards his Followers. London. Printed for Matthew Lownes, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe of the Bishop's head. 1611."

[Originals of this tract, which are now worth about $250 each, are preserved in the John Carter-Brown Library and in the library of Mr. Kalbfleisch of New York.]

LXXXV. EXTRACT FROM THE FISHMONGERS' RECORD.

"At a Court of Assistants at the Hall 24th April 1609:—

"The names of those persons of this Company that have before this day adventured to Virginia. vizt.:—

Mr. Richard Poyntell	£62. 10/
" John Harper	62. 10/
" Martin Freeman	62. 10/
" Otterwell Smith	62. 10/
" John Fletcher	62. 10/
" John Stoks	62. 10/
" Thomas Langton	62. 10/
" Arthur Mowse	50.
" Edward Allen	62. 10/
" James Brierley	62. 10/

Mr. William Day, — Adventurer
with Capt Gosnell, Capt. Archer
& Timothy Lodg: 12. 10/

"The names of those who do now newly adventure

	£	s.	d.
Mr. John Allen	12	10	
" Symon Yeomands	12	10	
" George Chambers	12	10	
" Leonard Thomson	12	10	
" Thomas Brett	25		
" Edmund Stab	2.		
" Martin Crane	2.		
" Libias Swann	3.		
" Thomas Johnson	2.		
" Thomas Smartfete	2.		
" Thomas Toward	2.		
" Stephen Crossley	2.		
" George Pollard	2.		
" William Barnes	2.		
" William Upkins	2.		
" John Langley	5.		
" Robert Poudon	5.		
" William Mason	5.		
" William Bennett	25.		
" Warden Widdowspay	3.		
" " Tapp and Christ[r] Newgate . .	12.	10.	
" John Dyke	2.		
" Robert Hall	2.		
" Walter Riley	2.		
" Robert Knight	2.		
" John Bayfill	2.		
" John Wolverston	2.		
" Trysham	2.		
" Broomsgrave	2.		
" Bagshaw	3.		

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Thomas Quested to adventure, but did not pay. —			
" Warden Edmund Andrews . . .	3.		
" Harbrowe	5.		

"These utterly refuse to pay at all.

Mr. Thomas Spence,
" Stephen Collet,
" Harry Graveborn,
" Robert Hawes,
" Thomas Atkyns,
" Benjamin Day,
" Matthias Pratt,
" William Budd,
" John James,
" Richard Sanderson,
" Paul Hodge,
" Richard Cole,
" Arthur Jeffreys,
" Edward Oliver,
" Robert Tetsworth,
" Robert Large,
" Robert Gibbs,
" Robert Elliott."

LXXXVI. VIRGINEA BRITTANIA.

This sermon, delivered April 25, and entered for publication May 4, 1609, was probably the first sermon published for the advancement of the American enterprise.

May 4, 1609. "Entered at Stationers Hall, by Eleazar Edgar, under the hands of Master Etkins. A Sermon preached at White Chappel the 25th of April 1609, by Wm. Symonds, Lecturer at Sainte Saviour in Southwarke." It was published with the following title-page: —

VIRGINIA.

A

SERMON PREACHED AT

WHITE-CHAPPEL, IN THE presence of many, Honourable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for VIRGINIA.
25 April, 1609.

PVBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT

AND VSE OF THE COLONY, PLANTED, and to bee Planted there, and for the Aduancement of their CHRISTIAN Purpose.

By WILLIAM SYMONDS, Preacher at Saint SAVIOURS in Southwarke.

IVDE. 22. 23.
Haue compassion of some, in putting of difference:
And other saue with feare, pulling them out of the fire.

LONDON:
Printed by I. WINDET for ELEAZAR EDGAR, and *William Welby*, and are to be sold in Paules Churchyard at the Signe of the Windmill.
1609.

Originals are preserved in the John Carter-Brown Library and in the library of Mr. Kalbfleisch of New York.

I have not noted an original for sale in the last ten years. One would probably be worth $150 or more. There are some extracts from it in Anderson's "History of the Colonial Church," where it is erroneously mentioned as having been delivered after Crashaw's sermon (CXX.). Extracts are also given in Neill's "English Colonization of America," Strahan & Co., London, 1871, pp. 29–31.

It has never been reprinted. It contains nearly 20,000 words, and is therefore too long to be reprinted in this book; but in order to illustrate the ideas which obtained in the religious element among the advancers of the American enterprise I will give extended extracts therefrom.

The following is the full text of the

"EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

"To the Right Noble and Worthie Advancers of The Standart of Christ, among the Gentiles, The Adventurers for the Plantation of Virginia, W. S. prayeth that Nations may blesse them, and be blessed by them.

"Right Noble and Worthy, such as do prayse the worthies, do cloth them with the robes of others that have gone before them in vertues of like nature. A thing which I cannot doe of your Plantation, seeing neither Testament (that I can find) dooth afford us a Parallell in men of like qualitie. That great and golden sentence, *The seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head*, (the onely subject of all ages) with a part of the wisedome that is folded therein, hitherto hath beautified the world with admirable and pleasant varieties; more rich and delightfull then all the Ornaments of Princes palaces, Or the Curtaines of Salomon. Here may we see the Flood, the burning of Sodom; the drowning of Pharoh: the subduing of the Cananites by David and his Sonnes; the breaking of Monarchies into chaffe:

Gene. 3. 15.

Dan. 2. 35.

the surprising & conquering of great Nations, by Fishermen, with the sword of the Spirit; the stamping of the Dragon (the Heathen Empire) into peeces by Constantine; the desolation, and nakednesse of Anti-Christ, now readie to be cast into the fire. Manifest demonstrations of the Serpents bruised head. But here is not all. These things were done in a Corner, in comparison of that which is in hand, and remaineth to be accomplished at the last judgment. Long since the Gospell of Christ did ride forth conquering that hee might over-come. And Now, the hostes that are in heaven doe follow him on white horses. Now the Lord hath made bare his holy arme, in the sight of all the Gentiles; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God. Now many Mighty Kings have set their crownes upon the head of Christ. The valiant souldier saith, The shields of the world belong to God, the true Nobilitie, have upon their horse bridles, *holinesse to the Lord.* And now the wise and industrious Merchant, doth hold the riches of the Gentiles too base a fraight for his shippes. He tradeth for his wisedome, that saith: *Surely the Isles wait for me* (*saith the Lord*) and the shippes of the Ocean most especially: namely to carry the Gospell abroad. The people in multitudes like strong thundrings, doe say Hallelu-iah. And who is wanting in this blessed expedition? Surely, not any tribe, Prayse ye the Lord, for the people that offered themselves so willingly. For who can with-draw himselfe from concurrence in so good an action: especially, when he shall but read, or heare that one sentence which Deborah did sing: Curse ye Meroz, sayd the Angell of the Lord, curse the inhabitants thereof: because they came not forth to helpe the Lord.

Ephe. 6. 17.

Euseb. de vita Constantini.

Reve. 6. & 19.

Isac. 52. 10. Reve. 19. 12.

Psal. 47. 9.

Zach. 14. 20.

Isac. 60. 9.

Reve. 19. 6.

Iudg. 5. 2.

Iudg. 5. 23.

"This land, was of Old time, offered to Our Kings. Our late Soveraigne Q. Elizabeth (whose storie hath no peere

among Princes of her sexe) being a pure Virgin, found it, set foot in it, and called it Virginia. Our most sacred Soveraigne, in whom is the spirit of his great Ancestor, Constantine the pacifier of the World, and planter of the Gospell in places most remote, desireth to present this land a pure Virgine to Christ. Such as doe manage the expedition, are carefull to carry thither no traitors, nor Papists, that depend on the Great Whore. Lord finish this Good worke thou hast begun; and marry this land, a pure Virgine to thy Kingly sonne Christ Iesus; so shall thy name bee magnified: and we shall have a Virgin or Maiden Britaine, a comfortable addition to our Great Britaine.

Euseb. de Vita Constantini.

"And now Right Worthy, if any aske an account of my vocation, to write and Preach thus much; I answere: that although I could not satisfie their request that would have me goe; yet I could not omit to shewe my zeale to the Glory of God. If they aske account of my Dedication, I answere, your vertue hath exacted it. If any man list to be curious, or contentious, wee have no such custome, nor the churches of God. Hold on your blessed course and you shall receive blessings of Christ: Blessed bee the Lord God; even the God of Israell, which onely worketh great wonders, and hath put these blessed thoughts into your Christian hearts, And blessed be his glorious name forever, and let all the earth be filled with his glory, Amen, Amen.

Psal. 72. 18. 19.

"Yours most heartily affected in the cause of Virginia.

"William Simonds."

The following extracts are taken from the sermon as published. There are about 300 words to the page; the pages are noted. Thus the reader can see when the mere heading only is given, and when the extract is more at large. The first page is given in full.

"Virginea Britannia. A Sermon Preached At [p. 1.]
White Chappel, In The presence of many the
Adventurers, and Planters for Virginia. [From the text]
"Genesis 12: 1. 2. 3. For the Lord had said unto Abram, get thee out of thy Countrey, and from thy Kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will shew thee.
"And I will make thee a great nation, and will blesse thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing.
"I will blesse them also that blesse thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.
"This Booke of Genesis conteineth the story of the Creation and Plantation of heaven and earth with convenient inhabitants. The heaven hath Angels, the skie
starres, the aire soules, the water fishes, the earth [p. 2.]
(furnished with plants and hearbes and beasts)
was provided for man a while to inhabite, who after was to be received into Glory, like unto the Angels. Hereupon the Lord (who by his great decree, set downe by his whole Trinitie, hath determined that man should rule among the creatures) did make man, both male and female, After his owne image, that is Jesus Christ, and gave them this blessing, Bring forth fruit and multiplie, and fill the earth, and subdue it &c. . . .
"Among whome the blessed line of Shem is not onely plentifully remembred, but also commended, as
obedient unto that first and great Law of God: [p. 3.]
For Terah, the father of Abram, with his family,
are reported to be found in a Land not theirs, that they might fill the earth.
"The reason why Terah, and his family removed, is recorded in these three verses." — He then dwells specially on his text under the following pointers: "The Context" — "Goe out of" — "To the place which I shall
shew thee" — "*Arguments from promises*" — [p. 4.]
"1. A great Nation" — "2. Blesse thee" —
"3. A great name" — "4. A blessing" — "*Arguments*

that concerne other men" — "1. Blesse them that blesse thee" — "2. Curse them that curse thee" —
[p. 5.] 3. "All Nations blessed in thee." He then dwells on the "Doctrines" taught by the text (pp. 5–10). To the objection, "The country they say, is possessed by owners, that rule, and governe it in their owne
[p. 10.] right: then with what conscience, and equitie can we offer to thrust them, by violence, out of their inheritance?" He gives a long answer, largely justifying the enterprise by former acts of the "Great Princes, and Monarkes, of Assyria, Persia, Media, Greece and Rome." He also answers various reasons for not going.
[p. 18.] "I am not ignorant, that many are not willing to goe abroade and spreade the gospell, in this most honorable and christian Voyage of the Plantation of Virginia. Their reasons are diverse according to their wits. One saith England is a sweete country. True in-
[p. 19.] deede, and the God of glory be blessed, that wher-as the country was as wilde a forrest, but nothing so fruitfull, as Virginia, and the people in their nakedness did arme themselves in a Coate of Armor of
Com. basoris. Wood, fetching their Curets and Polderns, from a Painters shop: by the civill care of conquerors and planters it is now become a very paradise in comparison of that it was. But how sweete soever it be, I am sure it cannot compare with Mesopotamia, where Abram dwelt.

. . . . . .

Look seriously into the land (England), and see whether there bee not just cause, if not a necessity, to seek abroad. The People blessed be God, doe swarme in the land, as young bees in a hive in June; insomuch that
[p. 20.] there is very hardly roome for one man to live by another. The mightier like old strong bees thrust the weeker, as younger, out of their hives." He then describes the over-crowded condition of all
[p. 22.] industries, etc., in England at that time, and urges "the younger bees, to swarme and hive

themselves elsewhere. Take the opportunity, good honest labourers, which indeede bring all the honey to the hive, God may so blesse you, that the proverbe may be true of you, that A May swarme is worth a Kings ransome."

"The land which wee walked through to search it, is a very good land. If the Lord love us, he will bring us to this land, and give it us." [p. 24.] Numb. 14. 7 8.

"The land, by the constant report of all that have seene it, is a good land, with the fruitfulnesse whereof, and pleasure of the Climate, the plentie of Fish and Fowle, England, Our Mistresse, cannot compare, no not when she is in her greatest pride. It is said of the land of Canaan, that Isaack sowed in that land, and found in the same yeere, an hundred fold, by estimation: and the text addeth, And so the Lord blessed him. But here is a greater matter then so: For, if I count a-right, this land giveth five hundred fold at one harvest. For the eares of Wheate [corn], which I have seene, are ten in square, and fiftie long: and yet they say, that commonly this returne is little better then the third part, every stalke bearing, ordinarily three such eares of Wheate. As for the opportunitie of the place, I leave it to the grave Polititian: and for the Commodities, let the industrious Merchant speake: but for food and raiment, here is inough to be had for the labour of mastring and subduing the soile." Gene. 26. 12. [p. 25.]

"The natives were not like 'the sonnes of Anak.' There are but poore Arbors for Castles, base and homely sheds for walled townes A Mat is their strongest Port cullis, a naked breast their Target of best proofe: an arrow of reede, on which is no iron, their most fearfull weapon of offense, heere is no feare of nine hundred iron charets. Their God is the enemie of mankind that seeketh whom he may devoure." Num. 13. 29. Judg. 4. 13. 1. Pet. 5. 8.

"Let us be cheerfull to goe to the place that God will shew us to possesse in peace and plentie, a Land more like the garden of Eden: which the Lord planted, than any part else of all the earth." [p. 26.]

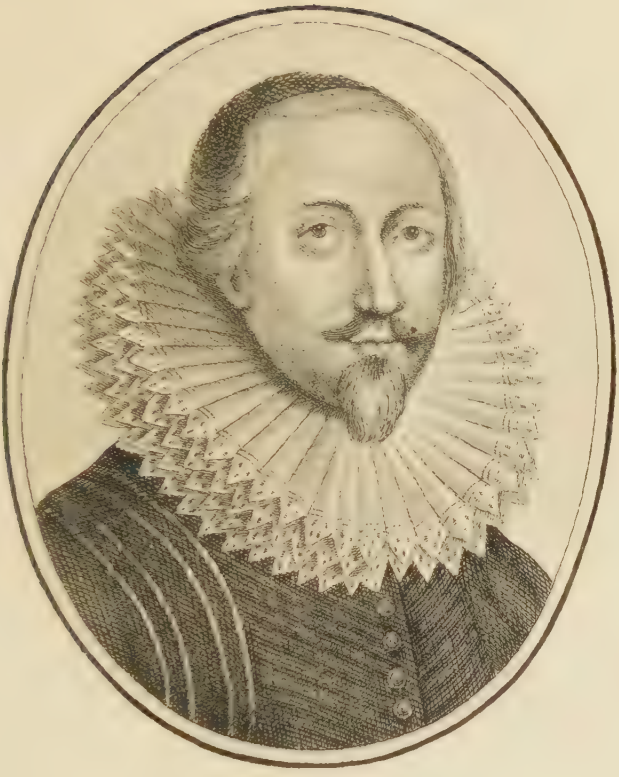
[p. 35.] "Out of these arguments, by which God inticed Abram to go out of his Country, such as goe to a Christian Plantation may gather many blessed lessons. God will make him a great Nation. Then must Abrams posteritie keepe them to themselves. They may not marry nor give in marriage to the heathen, that are uncircumcised. And this is so plaine, that out of this foundation arose the law of marriage among themselves. The breaking of this rule, may breake the necke of all good successe of this Voyage, whereas by keeping the feare of God, the Planters in shorte time, by the blessing of God, may grow into a Nation formidable to all the enemies of Christ, and be the praise of all that part of the world, for so strong a hand to be joyned with the people here that feare God."

Marrie not with Infidels.

[p. 43.] "I hope out of these words thus generally delivered, every true harted Protestant, can frame out an answere unto the objection, that is thought much to impeach this Plantation of Virginia. The perill, say the objectors, is great by the Papist that shall come on the backe of us. What Papists doe you feare? The Princes? Sure, such as are in aliance with your Nation will thinke other thoughts, and take better advice. But as for the popish Church, an unruly beast." He is very bitter in his words of invective against this church.

[p. 46.] "The onely perill is in offending God, and taking of Papists into your Company; if once they come creeping into your houses, then looke for mischiefe: if treason or poyson bee of any force: Know them all to be very Assasines, of all men to be abhorred, will also send you such governours, as will cast out the leaven out of your houses: to whom I need say little, because I know they need not be nurtured by me."

[p. 53.] "Againe, if it be Gods purpose that the Gospell shall be preached through the world for a witnesse then ought ministers to be carefull and willing to spread it abroad, in such good services as this, that is in-



THOMAS COVENTRY
First Baron Coventry

tended. Sure it is a great shame unto us, of the ministry, that can be better content, to sit, and rest us heere idle, then undergoe so good a worke. Our pretence of Zeale, is cleare discovered to be but hypocrisie, [p. 54.] when we rather choose to minde unprofitable questions at home, then gaining soules abroad. It is a singular sin for men to be overcome with evill, it is a shame that the Jesuites and Friers, that accompany every ship, should be so diligent to destroy souls, and wee not seeke the tender lambes, nor bind up that which is broken.

"But go on couragiously, and notwithstanding the snorting idlenes of the ministry, suspect not the blessing of God. A captive Girle brought Naman to the Prophet. A Captive woman, was the meanes of converting Iberia, now called Georgia. Edesius, and Frumentius two captive youthes, were the meanes of bringing the Gospell into India. God makes the weake things of the world confounde the mighty, and getteth himselfe praise by the mouth of Babes and sucklings. Be cheerfull then, and the Lord of all glory, glorifie his name by your happy spreading of the Gospell, to your commendation, and his glory, that is Lord of all things, to whom be power and dominion for-ever. Hallelu-iah.

2. King 5. 2.

Ruffinus Eccle. Hist. Lib. I. Cap. 9. 10.

1. Cor. 1.

"Finis."

LXXXVII. EXTRACT FROM CLOTHWORKERS' RECORD.

At a Court of the Clothworkers' Company of London, held at their Hall, April 26, 1609.

. . . . . .

"This daie also it is ordered, agreed and fullie assented unto by this Courte that with the petty somes yealded by divers persons, of this Company to be adventured in the plantacon of Virginia, there shalbe adventured by this house as muche money as will make upp the petty somes soe as aforesaide yealded to be adventured amountinge to xxx$^{li.}$ or thereabouts, the full some of one hundred pounds.

. . . . . .

LXXXVIII. EXTRACT FROM STATIONERS' RECORD.

FROM THE COURT MINUTES OF THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

1609 7mo Regis

"Mr Bisshopp Mr
Mr H. Hooper } Wards
Mr H. Lownes }
The Copy of the receipte under Sir Thomas Smithes hande for the Compnies Adventure into Virginia.

viz.

"Received the 28th of April 1609 of Mr Humphrey Hooper and Humphrey Lownes Wardens of The Stationers of the Citty of London the sum of one Hundred and twenty and five pounds, & is for the said Compnies adventure in the Voyage to Virginia. I said recd £125. 0. 0.

"Tho. Smythe.

"The which sum of £125 was Levyed & disbursed in The Compnie in portions as followeth

viz.

	£	s	d
Mr Bisshopp Mr the Compnie	10.	0.	0.
Mr Bonham Norton	5.	0.	0.
Mr Hooper elder Warden	3.	0.	0.
Mr H. Lownes younger Warden	6.	5.	0.
Mr Harrison the elder	5.	0.	0.
Mr Barker	5.	0.	0.
Mr Mann the elder	5.	0.	0.
Mr John Norton	10.	0.	0.
Mr Dawson	3.	0.	0.
Mr Seton	3.	0.	0.
Mr Leake	6.	5.	0.
Mr Standish	5.	0.	0.
Mr Richard Collins	2	0.	0.
Mr Keyle	2.	0.	0.
Mr Adams	10.	0.	0.
Mr Ockold	2.	10.	0.
Mr Bankworth	3.	0.	0.
Mr John Jaggard	2.	0.	0.
Mr Gylman	2.	0.	0.

	£	s	d
Mr Cole	3.	0.	0.
Mr Smithe	2.	0.	0.
Mr Dighte	2.	0.	0.
Mr Knighte	2.	0.	0.
Mr Pavyer	2.	0.	0.
Mr Edw. Bisshopp	2.	0.	0.
Mr Bill	3.	0.	0.
Mr Cooke	2.	0.	0.
Mr Islip	2.	0.	0.
Mr Kingstone	2.	0.	0.
Mr Weaver	2.	0.	0.
Mr Lawe	2.	0.	0.
Mr Cotton	2.	0.	0.
Richard Boyle	5.	0.	0.
Mr Swinhowe	2.	0.	0.
"Suma.	£125.	0.	0."

[This represents the way the sum contributed by the corporation of stationers was "levyed & disbursed" among the members. A good many members of this company were also personal adventurers for a considerable amount in the American enterprise.]

LXXXIX. GOOD SPEED TO VIRGINIA.

The document, it seems, was written by R[obert] G[ray], 28th April, 1609.

May 3, 1609. "Entered at Stationers Hall, For Wm. Welbye, by Robert Gray. Under the hands of Master Richard Etkins and Master Wm. Lownes. A booke called A Good Spede to Virginia."

It was published with the following title-page: —

A
GOOD SPEED
to Virginia.

Esay 42.4.

He shall not faile nor be diſcouraged till he have ſet judgement in the earth, and the Iles ſhall wait for his law.

LONDON:
Printed by Felix Kyngston for *William Welbie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne of the Greyhound in Pauls Church yard. 1609.

On the 1st of October, 1610, there is the following entry in the Register of the Company of Stationers of London: "Primo Octobris die Lunæ quarter day 1610. . . .

"Michael Baker: [had] assigned over unto him from Master Welby by the consent of the Courte holden this day. Good Speed to Virginia."

At the sale of the Drake Library in March, 1883, an original fetched $150.

Originals are preserved in the John Carter-Brown Library, and in the library of Mr. Kalbfleisch of New York.

LXXXIX. goes over much the same ground as LXVIII; but the latter gives a business view, while the former, looking from a scriptural standpoint, presents a religious view. The tract, I believe, has never been reprinted. It contains nearly 9,000 words, and is too long to be reprinted entire; but I give extended extracts, in further illustration of the sentiments which then obtained in the premises.

It was published with the following "Epistle Dedicatorie:" —

"To The Right Noble and Honorable Earles, Barons and Lords, and to the Right Worshipfull Knights, Merchants and Gentlemen, Adventurers for the [p. 2.] plantation of Virginea, all happie and prosperous successe, which may either, augment your glorie, or increase your wealth, or purchase your eternitie.

"Time the devourer of his own brood consumes both man and his memorie. It is not brasse nor marble that can perpetuate immortalitie of name upon the earth. Many in the world have erected faire and goodly monuments, whose memorie together with their monuments is long since defaced and perished. The name, memorie and actions of those men doe only live in the records of eternitie, which have employed their best endeavours in such vertuous and honourable enterprises, as have ad- [p. 3.] vanced the glorie of God, and inlarged the glorie

and wealth of their Countrie. It is not the house of Salomon, called the Forrest of Lebanon, that continues his name and memorie upon the earth at this day, but his wisedome, justice, magnificence and power, yet do and forever shall eternize him. A right sure foundation therefore have you (My Lords and the rest of the most worthie Adventurers for Virginia) laid for the immortalitie of your names and memorie, which, for the advancement of Gods glorie, the renowne of his Maiestie, and the good of your Countrie, have undertaken so honourable a project, as all posterities shall blesse: and Uphold your names and memories so long as the Sunne and Moone endureth: Whereas they which preferre their money before vertue, their pleasure before honour, and their sensuall securitie before heroicall adventures, shall perish with their money, die with their pleasures, and be buried in everlasting forgetfulnes. The [p. 4.] disposer of al humane actions dispose your purposes, blesse your Navie as hee did the ships of Salomon which went to Ophie, and brought him home in one yeere six hundred threescore and six talents of gold. The preserver of al men preserve your persons from all perils both by sea and land; make your goings out like honest men triumphing for the victorie, and you comings in like an army dividing the spoile. And as God hath made you instruments for the inlarging of his Church militant here upon Earth; so when the period of your life shall be finished, the same God make you members of his Church triumphant in Heaven. Amen.

"From mine house at the North-end of Sithes lane London, April 28. Anno 1609.

"Your Honours and Worships in all affectionate well wishing.

"R. G."

He takes as a text for his discourse on a "Good Speede to Virginia," Joshua 17 chapter, 14 to 18 verses. [p. 5.] "Then the children of Joseph spake unto

Joshua, saying, why hast thou given me but one lot, and one portion to inheritie, seeing I am a great people?

"Joshua then answered, if thou beest much people, get thee up to the wood, and cut trees for thyselfe in the land of the Perizzites, & of the Giants, if Mount Ephraim be too narrow for thee.

"Then the children of Joseph said, the Mountaine will not be inough for us, and all the Canaanites that dwelt in the low countrey, have Charets of Iron as well as they in Bethsheam, and in the towns of the same, as they in the Valley of Israel.

"And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and Manasses, saying, Thou art a great people, and hath great power, and shalt not have one lot.

"Therefore the mountain shall be thine, for it is a wood, and thou shall cut it downe, and the endes of it shall be thine, & thou shall cast out the Canaanites though they have Iron Charets, and though they be strong."

The discourse begins: "The heavens saith David, even the heavens are the Lords, and so is the earth, but he hath given it to the children of men," etc.

He reviews the past: "In those days this [pp. 6, 7.]
Kingdome was not so populous as now it is,
Civell warres at home, and forreine wars abroad, did cut off the overspreading branches of our people."

"But now God hath prospered us with the [p. 8.]
blessings of the wombe, and with the blessings
of the breasts, the sword devoureth not abroad, neither is there any feare in our streetes at home; so that we are now for multitude as the thousand of Manasses, and as the ten thousands of Ephraim, the Prince of peace hath joyned the wood of Israel and Judah in one tree. And therefore we may justly say, as the children of Israel say here to Joshua, we are a great people, and the lande is too narrow for us: so that whatsoever we have beene, now it behooves us to be both prudent and politicke, and not to deride and reject good powers of profitable and gainefull expectation;

but rather to embrace every occasion which hath any probabilitie in its future hopes: And seeing there is neither preferment nor employment for all within the lists of our Countrey, we might justly be accounted as in former times, both imprudent and improvident, if we will yet sit with our armes foulded on our bosomes, and not rather seeke after such adventers whereby the Glory of God may be advanced, the teritories of our Kingdome inlarged, our people both preferred and employed abroad, our wants supplyed at home, his Maiesties customes wonderfully augmented, and the honour and renown of our Nation spread and propagated to the ends of the World."

[p. 9.] "And therefore for the better satisfying of some, and for the encouraging of all sortes of people concerning this project for Virginia, let us more fully examine the particulars of this discourse betweene the children of Joseph and Joshua."

[p. 10.] "There is nothing more dangerous for the estate of Common-wealths, than when the people do increase to a greater multitude and number than may justly paralell with the largenesse of the place and Countrey: for hereupon comes oppression, and diverse kindes of wrongs, mutinies, sedition, commotion and rebellion, scarcitie, dearth, povertie, and sundrie sorts of calamities, which either breed the conversion, or eversion, of cities and commonwealths."

[p. 14.] "For they that turne many unto righteousnesse shall shine as the starres for evermore. Dan.

[p. 15.] 12. 3." He urges that it "is everie mans dutie to travell both by sea and land, and to venture either with his person or with his purse, to bring the barbarous and savage people to a civill and Christian Kinde of government. . . . to trie all meanes before they undertake Warre."

[p. 16.] "The report goeth, that in Virginia the people are savage and incredibly rude, they worship the divell, offer their young children in sacrifice unto him, wan-

der up and downe like beasts, and in manners and conditions, differ very little from beasts, having no Art, nor science, nor trade, to imploy themselves, or give themselves unto, yet by nature loving and gentle, and desirous to imbrace a better condition. Oh how happy were that man which could reduce this people from brutishness to civilitie, to religion, to Christianitie, to the saving of their souls, . . .

"Farre be it from the hearts of the English, they should give any cause to the world, to say that they sought the wealth of that Countrie above or before the glorie of God, and the propagation of his Kingdome."

He reviews and answers several of the objections to the enterprise.

"The first objection is, by what right or war- [p. 18.]
rant we can enter into the lands of these savages,
take away their rightful inheritance from them, and plant ourselves in their places, being unwronged or unprovoked by them.

"Some affirme, and it is likely to be true that [p. 19.]
these Savages have no particular propertie in any
part or parcell of that countrey, but only a generall residencie there, as wild beasts have in the forest, . . .

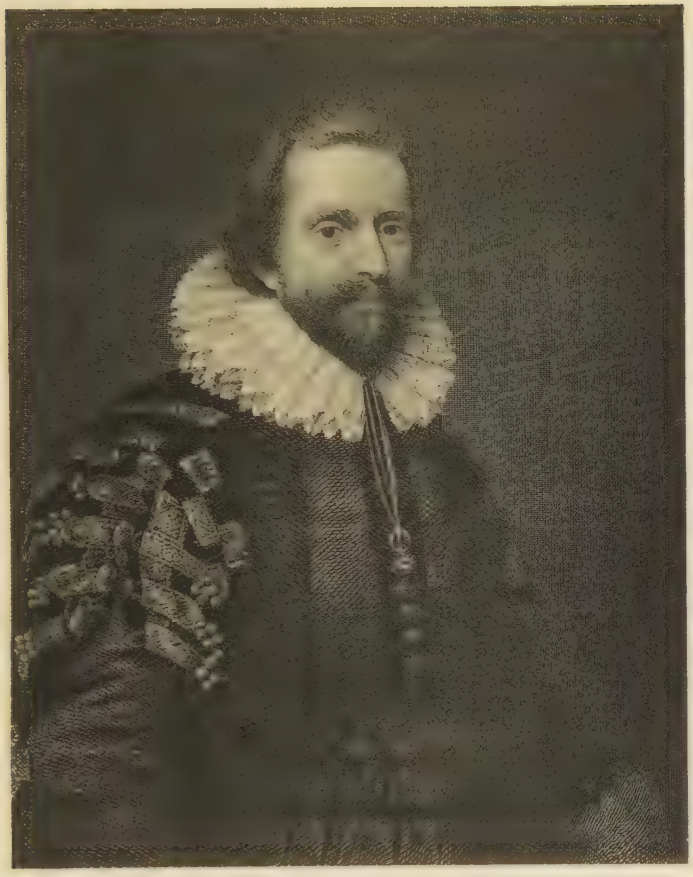
"But the answer to the aforesaid objection is, that there is no intendment to take away from them by force that rightfull inheritance which they have in that countrey, for they are willing to entertaine us, and have offered to yeelde into our hands on reasonable conditions, more lande than we shall bee able this long time to plant and manure, . . .

"Secondly, they reason of the future events [p. 20.]
by those that are alreadie past. And seeing it
is above twentie yeares agoe since this attempt was begun, and yet no good hath come of it, nor little hope of any, they holde it an unvised course to set the same
attempt on foote again: which objection of theirs [p. 21.]
is very sufficientlie answered in that booke intituled Nova Britannia [LXVIII.]. And indeed most child-

ish is this objection, for neither was the ends of the first attempt the same, with the ends of this, nor the meanes, nor the managing of the meanes of this attempt semblable with the former, . . . The event of this cannot be judged by the event of the former.

"Their second [third?] objection is, that this age will see no profit of this plantation. Which objection admit it were true, yet it is too brutish, and bewraies their neglect and incurious respect of posteritie: we are not borne like beasts for ourselves, and the time present only. . . . Posterity and the age yet ensuing have not the least part in our life and labours. What benefit or comfort should we have enjoyed in the things of this world, if our forefathers had not provided better for us, and bin more carefully respective of posteritie then for themselves? We sow, we set, we plant, we build, not so much for ourselves as for posteritie; We practice the workes of Godlines in this life, yet shall we not see the end of our hope before wee injoy it in the world to come. . . . They which onely are for themselves, shall die in themselves, and shall not have a name among posteritie, their rootes shall be dried up beneath, and above shall their branches bee cut down, their remembrance shall perish from the earth, and they shall have no name in the street. Job. 18. 16. 17."

[p. 22.] "Others object to the continuall charges which will prove in their opinion very heavie and burdensome to those that shall undertake the said Plantation. These like the dog in the manger, neither eate hay themselves, neither will they suffer the Oxe that would. They never think any charge too much that may any way increase their owne private estate. They have thousands to bestow about the ingrossing of a commoditie, or upon a morgage, or to take their neighbors house over his head, or to lend upon usurie; but if it come to a publicke good, they grone under the least burden of charges that can bee required of them. These men should be used like sponges, they must be squeased, seeing they drinke up all, and will



[illegible] CRANFIELD
First Earl of Middlesex

yeeld to nothing, though it concerne the common good never so greatly. But it is demonstratively prooved in Nova Britannia, that the charges about this Plantation will be nothing, in comparison of the benefit that will grow thereof. And what notable thing I pray you can be brought to passe without charges? . . . Without question he that saves his money, where Gods glory is to be advanced, Christian religion propagated and planted, the good of the Commonwealth increased, and the glorious renowne of the King inlarged, is subject to the curse of Simon Magus, his monie and he are in danger [p. 23.] to perish together. Let none therefore find delaies, or faine excuses to withhold them from this imployment for Virginia, seeing every opposition against it is an opposition against God, the King, the Church, and the Commonwealth. . . .

"For this present businesse of plantation in Virginia, there must bee speciall choice and care had of such persons as shall be sent thither. Nature hath emptied herselfe in bestowing her richest treasures upon that countrie; so that if Art and Industrie be used, as helpers to Nature, it is likely to proove the happiest attempt that ever was undertaking by the English. And for as much as of all human Artes, Political government is the chiefest, there must be a speciall care in the Magistrate, for herein consists the verie maine matter of the successe of this businesse. . . .

And for as much as no policie can stand long [p. 25.] without religion, a chiefe care must be had of sufficient, honest and sober minded Ministers. . . .

"Provision must be made of men furnished with Arts and trades most necessarie for this businesse."

"Besides all this, industrie must be also added [p. 26.] to helpe Arte and Nature. . . . necessarie sup- [p. 27.] plies of livelihoode will be very precious there a while: and therefore order had more neede be taken, that such provision be not consumed by unserviceable loytering companions.

"Lastly, all degrees and sorts of people which have prepared themselves for this Plantation must be admonished to preserve unitie, love and concord amongst themselves: for by concord small things increase and grow to great things, but by discord great things soone come to nothing. . . . Therefore if any mutinous or seditious person dare adventure to moove any matter which may tend to the breech of concord and unitie, he is presently to be suppressed as a most dangerous enemy to the state and government there established.

"Now all these particulars being already not onely concluded upon, but also provided for by the godly care of the Counsell and Adventurers of Virginia: I have presumed onely to advise, being out of doubt that they will be carefully performed, as they are already wisely and religiously determined. And thus far have I presumed in my love to the Adventurers, and liking to the enterprise, to deale in this businesse, praying as much goode successe to them and it, as their owne hearts can desire, hoping to see their expectation satisfied, and the glory of England as much increased, by this their honourable attempt, as ever was the Romane Empire by the enterprises of her greatest Emperours, sorrowing with myselfe that I am not able neither in person nor purse to be a partaker in the businesse."

XC. EXTRACT FROM MERCHANT TAYLORS' RECORDS.

Extract from the Minutes of a Court of Assistants of the Merchant Taylors' Company, dated 29th day of April, 1609.

"This day our Maister, Wardens and Assistants did consider with the Warden Substitutes and XVI men, concerning the money proposed to be collected from the common stock, at a Courte held on 31 March last, towards the honorable plantac̄on in Verginia. And upon full examynac̄on of all that was collected and lately agreed uppon it is

resolved that the some of Two hundred pounds shalbe presently sent to Sir Thomas Smyth, Treasurer of the Verginia Company, which cc! wilbe raysed in this manner following viz: —

"Out of the stock of the Company,	*l* c.			
Of the free guift of diverse of the lyvery whose names ensue	*l* xxiiij	*l* cxxiiij		£ cc.
Of the free guift of the Batchelers Company whose names alsoe ensue,	*l* *s* *d* liiij. iij. iiij			
Adventurers of the Batchelers Company whose names alsoe ensue — expecting gayne.	*l* *s* *d* xv. xij. vj	*l* lxxvj		
Supplied by the Batcheler's Company out of theire Treasury	*l* *s* *d* vi. iiij. ij			

"And be it remembred that upon examynacõn and conference with diverse of the Company it alsoe appeareth that particular brothers of the Company have adventured with the Virginia Company in the name of themselves and theire friendes or children severall somes whereof this Company have knowledge of as much as in the whole doth amount to ffyve hundreth fower score and six pounds thirteene shillings and fower pence, over and besides the two hundred pounds before mentioned, whose names also hereafter followe —

"And first —

"The names of such of the Lyvery as (of their owne free guift) have contributed the severall somes hereafter following to be adventured by this Company towards the honorable plantacõn in Virginia: And have agreed that the gayne thereof (if any shalbe) shall from tyme to tyme be given and bestowed upon the poore of this Company.

"Francis Evington, warden.	xx*s*	John Prowde.	xx*s*
Andrewe Osborne.	xx*s*	Richard Tenaunt.	xx*s*
Edward Atkinson.	xx*s*	George Sotherton.	xx*s*
John Wooller.	£x	William Bond.	xx*s*
Randle Woolley.	xx*s*	George Hethersall.	xx*s*
Richard Otway.	xx*s*	Robert Jenkinson.	xx*s*
Thomas ffranklyn.	xx*s*	Thomas Johnson.	xx*s*
Edward James.	xx*s*	Thomas Boothby.	xx*s*

Charles Hoskins.	xx*s*	Bartholomew Elnor.	xx*s*
John Harrison.	xx*s*	Nicholas Bosville.	xx*s*
William Priestly.	xx*s*	John Hanbury.	xx*s*
Jeffrey Prescott.	xx*s*		

Suma: £xxiiij.

"The names of such of the Batchelers Company (as of theire free guift) have contributed the severall somes hereafter following, to be adventured by this Company towards the honorable plantac̄on in Virginia. And have agreed that the gayne thereof (if any be) shall from tyme to tyme be given and bestowed upon the poore of the said Batcheler's Company.

"John Mawditt.	v*s*	Robert Saunders.	v*s*
Thomas Stapleton.	viij*s*	Walter Eldred & Samuel Palke } Partners.	v*s*
George Beard.	v*s*	Richard Sparchford.	v*s*
George Robson.	v*s*	Ralph Balser.	xx*s*
William Reynolds.	x*s*	Henry Howson.	iij*s*
William Crosley.	v*s*	William Greene.	v*s*
William ffield.	v*s*	William Ampleford.	iij*s*
Titus Westley.	x*s*	Hugh Rymell.	v*s*
John Godwyn.	v*s*	William Hartford.	x*s*
Noah Smythe.	x*s*	John Hawkins.	iij*s* iiij*d*
John Dade.	v*s*	Humffrey Hamond.	x*s*
Andrew Pawling.	vi*s* viij*d*	William Stanley.	v*s*
Richard Williams.	x*s*	Robert Senyor.	v*s*
Samuel Bonnyvale.	v*s*	Roger Marsh.	v*s*
Symon Woode & Phillipp Collam } Partners.	x*s*	Robert Dobson.	vi*s*
Richard Jenkinson & Charles Guy } Partners	xx*s*	Thomas ffretwell.	v*s*
Peter Sparks.	v*s*	William Wright.	v*s*
Henry Ashley.	iij*s*	Edward Owen.	x*s*
James Ashley.	v*s*	Robert James.	x*s*
Thomas Holmes.	v*s*	William ffairebrother.	v*s*
Henry Kynnersley.	xx*s*	William Sales.	v*s*
William Lane.	v*s*	Robert Willoughby.	iiij*s*
William Parker.	v£	Richard Banbury.	x*s*
William Alisbury.	x*s*	Anthony Juke.	v*s*
Robert Perryn.	x*s*	Nicholas Wynniff.	xx*s*
Edward Cotton.	v*s*	Richard Rodway.	x*s*
Robert Hayward.	vij*s*	Edward Moody.	v*s*
Nicholas Adams.	v*s*	John Brooke.	v*s*
Thomas Woodcock.	v*s*	Alexander Miller.	v£
Thomas Plomer.	xx*s*	Patrick Blake.	v£
John Kirby.	x*s*	Mathew Barker.	v*s*
Thomas Harward.	x*s*	William Barnard.	xv*s*
		Thomas Gifford.	x*s*

Edward Robinson.	vs	Martyn Bowden.	vs
Thomas Heylo.	vs	John Helme.	vs
Richard Spencer.	vs	Griffin Ellis.	xs
William Benbowe.	vs	James Cording.	vs
Thomas Claxton.	viijs	Daniell Pewsy.	vs
Thomas Hodges.	vs	John Rowe.	vs
Michael Steele.	vs	George Bassett.	vs
Thomas Harrison.	xs	Robert Dawson.	xxs
Matthewe Nelson.	vs	Thomas Bradford.	vs
Amynadab Cowper.	xxs	Anthony Wilkins.	vs
William Morrall.	xjs	Thomas Culpepper.	vs
Henry Overton.	xs	Robert Gray.	vis viijd
Oswell Hoskins.	vs	Edward Thorold.	xs
Myles Gunthrop.	vs	Christopher Mayott.	vs
Albian ffrancis.	vjs	Thomas Elwyn.	vs
Cornelius Wellen.	xs	Henry Pratt.	xs
Richard Pierson.	vs	Roger Sprott.	xs
Otwell Worsley.	vs	Henry Ensworth.	xs
John Downe.	vs	John Juxon.	xs
Richard Danyell.	vs	John Robynson.	vjs
John Pemberton.	xxs	Nicholas Smyth.	xs
Thomas Wolf.	vs	John Vicars.	xs
John Baker.	xxs	William Cole.	xs
William Short.	vis viijd	John Browne.	xxs
William Sprott.	xs	Thomas Sparks.	vs
Nicholas Aldridge.	vs		
Thomas Edge.	xs	Suma. liiij£ iijs iiijd	
John Waynewright.	xs		

[When we consider that a shilling then was equivalent to more than a dollar of our present money the aforesaid "free guifts" will not appear inconsiderable. £1 = $25.]

"The names of such of the Batchelor's Company as have adventured the severall somes hereafter following with this Company towarde the honorable plantac̄on in Virginia. And are to have a ratable allowaunce of the gayne (if any shalbe) according to their severall adventures.

"Thomas Santy	ls	ffrauncis Buteridge	iij£ ijs vid
John Key	ls	William Lane of Pater-noster rowe	ls
Thomas Hamer	v£		
Suma. xv£ xiis vid			

"The names of such of the Company of the Marchauntail[rs] as doe affirme they have adventured with the Virginia Company in the name of themselves their children or friends these severall somes hereafter following, viz; —

"Thomas Henshaw	xxv£	Richard Osmotherley.	xxv£
John Wooller in the name of John Hanford and Edward Woller	1£	John Hanbury.	xxv£
Ralph Hamer for himself 1£ and for his children xxv£	lxxv£	John Marden and George Johnson.	xij£ *xs*
Thomas Johnson.	xxv£	William ffield.	xxv£
Mathewe Springham.	xxv£	Gregory Bland.	xxv£
George Wynne in the name of himself and his sonne Edmond Wynne	xxv£	Robert Johnson.	lx£
Otho Mawditt in the name of himself and his children.	lx£	ffrauncis Pendleton.	vi£ xiij*s* iiij*d*
		John Browne.	xxv£
		John Goff.	xii£ *xs*
		Richard Turner.	lx£
		Stephen Sparrowe.	xxv£
		Suma. v^{c} iiij^{xx} vj£ xiij*s* iiij*d*."	

[*i. e.*, £586 13*s.* 4*d.*]

[XC. is the most complete report of one of the guild meetings, in the premises, which I have. It will serve as a sample, and will aid us in forming our idea of these meetings. See also XCI. and XCIII.]

XCI. EXTRACT FROM MERCHANT TAYLORS' RECORD.

"To the Right honorable S^{r} Humfrey Weld Knight Lord Maio^{r} of London.

"May it please your good Lordshipp, to be advertised That wee the Maister and Wardens of the Marchauntailo^{rs} having (according to your Lordships comaundement) called before us the whole generality of our Company, are informed that diverse of them have already adventured with the Virginia Company, and taken severall bills of Adventurers in the name of themselves, theire children or friends, amounting to ye some of v^{c} iiij^{xx} vj$^{£}$ xiij^{s} iiij^{d} as by the particulers (if your Lordship please to see the same may appeare). And some others affirme they have a p'pose to adventure somes of good value whereof they are not yett fully resolved. Therefore wee could not perswade them at this tyme to adventure with us soe great a some as wee expected, and did earnestly desire. Neverthelesse out of our poore stock of our howse, and the good of some breatheren, wee have provided a some of two hundreth pounds which wee wilbe ready to deliver over to the Virginia Company when your Lordship shall appointe.

"And soe moast humbly rest at your Lordships further Comaundement.

"From Marchauntailors Hall the third of May 1609.

HUMFREY STREETE, Maister.
THOMAS HENSHAW.
ANTHONY HOLMEADE.
GEORGE LIDDIOTT.
FRAUNCIS EVINGTON. } Wardens."

[MEM. — "For the Discoverie of a shorter way to Virginia and to avoid all danger of quarrell with the subjects of the King of Spaine, Capt Samuel Argoll was commissioned by the Council for Virginia and afterwards sailed from Portsmouth on the fifth of May 1609." see CXIV.]

XCII. SALISBURY TO THE OFFICERS OF CUSTOMS.

DOMESTIC CORRESPONDENCE, JAMES I. VOLUME XLV., CALENDAR 10, PAGE 508.

"Lo: Threr to permitt all goods passing for Virginia to be transported free of Cost.

"After my hartie Comendacons. fforasmuch as his Ma^tie^ is pleased that all such Comodities as are shipped from hence to Virginia for the use and service of his subjects, that doe remaine there should bee free of custome & other duties. These are to will and require you (according to his Ma^ties^ said pleasure) to permitt such persons as are appointed for that purpose to shipp and carrie awaye such goods and Marchandizes as are provided onely for the use aforesaid, without demaundinge anie Custome Impost or other duties for the same. And in soe doing this shalbe your Warrant.

"From Whitehall 3. May 1609.

"Your loving ffreind.

"R. SALISBURIE."

"To my Loving ffreinds the Officers & ffarmers of his

Ma:ties Customes in the Porte of London, & to evrie of them whome it maie concerne."

XCIII. EXTRACT FROM THE MERCHANT TAYLORS' RECORD.

Copy of the Bill of adventure, being sealed with a greate Seale, having the armes of England with this writing about the same, viz., "*Pro Consilio Suo Virginiæ*" and being subscribed with the name of Richard Atkinson, the Clarck of the Virginia Company.

"Whereas the Master and Wardens of the Merchant-tailors of the ffraternity of St John Baptist, in the cittie of London, have paid to Sir Thomas Smythe Knt. Th'ror for Virginia, the sum of two hundred pounds for their adventure towards the voyage to Virginia. It is agreede that for the same they, the said Master and Wardens, and their successors for the tyme being, shall have ratably, according to their adventure, theire full parte of all such lands, tenements, and hereditaments as shall from tyme to tyme be there recovered, planted and inhabited. And of all such mines and minerals, of gould, silver and other metals or treasure, pearles, precious stones, or any kind of wares or marchaundizes, Comodities, or profitts whatsoever, which shalbe obteyned or gotten in the said voyage according to the porc̄on of money by them employed to that use, in as ample a manner as any other adventurer therein shall receave for the like some.

"Written this fourth of May 1609.

"Richard Atkinson."

XCIV. THE COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA TO THE HERALDS.

From the Harleian MS., and published by the Rev. Edward D. Neill, in his "Virginia Vetusta," pp. 42, 43.

"After our hartie commendac̄ons, whereas divers honour-

able personnages, Knightes and others have undertaken to settle a Collonie or Plantation in Virginia as well for the Publishinge of a Ch^rian faith among those barbarous nations, as for the enlargement of his Ma^ties dominions, and for their better encouragement in so honorable an action are to have a grant of that Countrie by his Majesties letters pattente with which the names of the principalle Adventurers are particularly to be inserted, forasmuch as it is not unlikely but that the Lords, Knights and Doctors as well of dignitie [divinity?], as of lawe and Phisick might conceave dislike and displeasure, if they should not be so placed, marshalled as their severall worths and degrees do require, We have thought good to let you know that our desire is that you call with you the Colledge of Heraulides, or so many of them as you shall thinke fit, and by their advise you marshall and sett in order the names of such noblemen, Knightes, and doctores, as you shall receave herewith in there due places and ranke and send them unto us fayre written on paper, with your hande and names subscribed, with as much expedience as you can, and these shall be your Warrants in that behalf. From the Court this 9^th^ of May 1609. "Your Loving Friends.

E. Worcester.

[Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester.]
[Henry Howard] H. Northampton. [The royal
[Thomas Howard] T. Suffolk. arms are here
To The Colledge of Heraulds." appended.]

XCV. EXTRACT FROM STATIONERS' RECORD.

"Here followeth the copy of the bill of Adventure under Seale, to the Stationers Company.

"Whereas the M^r & keepers or Wardens & Comonalty of the Mysterie or Art of Stacioner of the citty of London have paid in ready money to Sir Thomas Smythe Knight, Treasurer for Virginia the sum of one Hundred & twenty ffive pounds for their adventure towards the said Voyage.

It is agreed that for the same they the said M^r^ & keepers or Wardens and their successors (for the time being) shall have ratably according to their adventures their full part of all such lands, tenements and hereditaments as shall from time to time be there recovered, planted and inhabited: And of all such mines & minerals of Gold Silver & other metalls or treasure, pearls, precious stones or any other Kind of Wares or merchandise, comodities or proffitte whatsoever which shall be obtained or gotten in the said Voyage according to the porcion of money by them imployed to that use in as ample manner as any other adventurer therein shall receive for the like sum.

"Written this 10^th^ daye of Maye 1609.

"RICHARD ATKINSON."

XCVI. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 29.

Copy of an extract from a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to H. M. dated Iguet (Highgate) May 20. 1609.

"SIRE —

"The Soldiers who were gathered here for Virginia, have been on the point of departure and have been detained here, because the orders which they carried did not appear good, and now they remain here waiting for others before they leave."

[MEM. — Chiefly through Sir Thomas Smythe's influence, in lieu of the privileges conferred by Queen Elizabeth, a new charter was obtained from James I., conferring upon the East India Company "the whole entire and only trade and traffic to the East Indies forever and a day," no one being allowed to have any share in that branch of commerce without license from the company (May 11, 1609). See H. R. Fox Bourne's "Famous London Merchants."]

XCVII. PHILIP III. TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 277.

Copy of an extract from a rough draft of a letter of H. M. to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated San Lorenzo, May 14, 1609.

[Received in England probably about May 14, English style.]

"All that you say touching Virginia is well understood here and attention is paid to what may be proper to do in this matter — and it is well that you should act with great precaution with the Baron of Arundel, since it may be, that he is ['hechadiço'?]."

XCVIII. PHILIP III. TO ZUÑIGA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2571, FOLIO 281.

Copy of an extract from a rough draft of a letter from Philip III. of Spain to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, dated Aranguez, May 25, 1609.

[Possibly received in England about May 25, O. S.?]

. . . . . .

"Concerning what you say of the progress made there in fortifying Virginia, and the great number of people whom they wish to send there, you must be on the look out, to report when those will depart who are to settle that country, with what forces they go, and what route they will have to take in their voyage thither — so that here, such orders may be given as will be necessary." [For intercepting them, I suppose.]

XCIX. PRICE'S SERMON.

SAVLES PROHIBITION STAIDE:

OR

THE APPREHENSION, AND EXAMINATION OF SAVLE.

And to the Inditement of all that persecute Christ with a reproofe of those that traduce the Honourable Plantation of Virginia.

Preached in a Sermon Commanded at Paule Crosse, vpon Rogation Sunday, being the 28th of May, 1609.

By DANIEL PRICE, Chaplaine in ordinarie to the Prince, and Master of Artes of Exeter Colledge in Oxford.

LONDON

Printed for MATTHEW LAW, and are to be sold in Pauls Church yard, neere unto Saint Austines Gate at the Signe of the Foxe. 1609.

There is an original in the Carter-Brown library. It has not been reprinted. The following extract is taken from "Virginia Vetusta," by Rev. Edward D. Neill, pp. 45–50. I have never seen an original offered for sale, and I have no idea as to the value of one.

The text was Acts, 9th chapter, 4th verse: "*Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*"

[The conclusion was denunciatory of several classes of persons, especially those who did "traduce the honourable Plantation of Virginia."]

"If there be any that have opposed any action intended to the glory of God, and saving of souls, and have stayed the happy proceeding in any such motive, let him know that he is a persecutor and an adversary of Christ.

"In which Quære give me leave to examine the lying speeches that have injuriously vilified and traduced a great part of the glory of God, the honour of our Land, Joy of our Nation and expectation of many wise, and noble Senators of this Kingdom, I mean in *the Plantation of Virginia.* When the discovery of the Indies was offered to that learned and famous Prince, Henry the Seventh, some idle, dull and unworthy sceptikes moved the King not to entertain the motion. We know our loss by the Spaniards gain; but now the souls of those dreamers do seem by a Pithagoricall transmigration to be come into some of those scandalous, and slanderous detractors of that most noble voyage. Surely if the prayers of all good Christians prevail, the expectation of the wisest and noblest, the knowledge of the most experimented, and learnedest, the relation of the best traveled and observant be true, it is like to be the most worthy voyage that ever was effected, by any Christian in discovering any country of the World, both for the peace of the entry, for the plenty of the Country, and for the climate. Seeing that the Country is not unlike to equalize (though not India for gold, which is not impossible yet) Tyrus for colours, Basan for woods, Persia for oils, Arabia for Spices, Spain for Silks, Narsis for shipping, Netherlands for fish, Pomona

for fruit, and by tillage, Babylon for Corn, besides the abundance of mulberries, minerals, rubies, Pearls, gems, grapes, deer, fowle, drugs for physic, herbs for food, roots for colours, ashes for Soap, timber for building, pastures for feeding, rivers for fishing, and *whatsoever commodity England wanteth.* The Philosopher commendeth the temperature; the politician, the opportunity; the divine, the piety in converting so many thousand souls. The Virginian desireth it, and the Spaniard envieth us, and yet our own lazy, drowsy, yet barking countrymen traduce it, who should honour it, if it was but for the remembrance of that Virgin Queen of eternal memory, who was the first Godmother to that land and nation. As also that Virgin Country may in time prove to us, the farm of Britain, as Sicily was of Rome, or the garden of the World as was Thessaly, or the argosy of the World as is Germany.

"And besides the future expectation, the present encouragement is exceeding much, in that, it is a voyage countenanced by our gracious King, consulted on by the Oracles of the Council, adventured in by our wisest and greatest Nobles, and undertaken by so worthy, so honourable and religious a Lord, and furthered not only by many other parties of this Land, both clergy and laity, but also, by the willing liberal contribution of this Honourable city, and as that thrice worthy Dean of Glocester,[1] not long since remembered his Majesty and Nobles, that it is a voyage wherein every Christian ought to set his helping hand, seeing the Angel of Virginia crieth to this Land, as the Angel of Macedonia did to Paul, *O! Come and help us.* There is a fearful woe denounced against those that came not to assist Deborah. Whosoever they be that purposely withstand or confront this most Christian, most honorable voyage, let him read that, and fear. Hath God called this land *Ad summum munus Apostolicum*, to that great work of apostleship, that whereas, this was one of the first parts of

[1] Dr. Thomas Morton. I have not found a copy of his sermon, and I do not know the date of its delivery before "his Majesty and Nobles."

Christendom that received the Gospel, so now, it is the first part that ever planted and watered the Gospel in so great, fair, fruitful a Country, nor shall skeptical humorists be a means to keep such an honor from us, such a blessing from them? No, my Beloved, to the present assurance of great profit, and this future profit, that whosoever hath a hand in this business, shall receive an unspeakable blessing, for *they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.* You will make Plutarch's πονηροπόλις *Athenocus* ὀνραγοπόλις, a savage country to become a sanctified country; you will obtain the saving of their souls, you will enlarge the bounds of this kingdom, nay the bounds of Heaven, and all the angells that behold this if they rejoice so much at the conversion of one sinner, O! What will their joy be at the conversion of so many.

"Go on as you have begun, and the Lord shall be with you; go, and possess the Land, it is a good land, a land flowing with milk and honey, God shall bless you, and those ends of the World shall honor him.

"I will end with one word of exhortation to this City; many excellent things are spoken of this as sometimes, of the City of God. Hither the Tribes came, even the Tribes of the Lord, herein, is the Seat of Judgment, even the seat of the house of David. Peace be within thy walls, plenteousness within thy palaces.

"You remember how manifold infections hence, as from a fountain, issued out; all the tricks of deceiving, the divers lusts of filthy living, the pride of attire, the cause of oppression, gluttony in eating, surfeit in drinking, and the general disease of the fashions. . . . It should be Jerusalem the City of God, and it is become Murder's slaughterhouse, Thefts refuge, Oppressor's safety, Whoredom's stewes, Usury's bank, Vanity's stage, abounding in all kind of filthiness and profaneness. O! remember that sins have been the pioneers of the greatest cities, and have not left one stone upon another.

"My Honourable Lord Mayor, I need not to remember

you in this behalf. The last Sabbath* you received a letter though not from the Cross, yet from the Crown by our Royal Ecclesiastes, practice that lesson both concerning the infection of the body and the infection of the soul of the city."

*His Majesty's speech the 21st of May, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Greenwich.

C. INSTRUCTIONS TO HOLCROFT.

"Instructions given to Capt. Thomas Holcroft whom we authorise to negotyate the business of the Virginia Company with his Majesties subjects in the Free States of the United Provinces.

"It hath pleased his Majesty to grant his Letters patents under the Great Seal of England unto divers Earls, Barons, Knights, gentlemen and others his highness subjects under his protection and favour to plant in the parts of America that lie between 34 and 45 degrees of Northerly Latitude and to deduce Colonies of such people of all Arts and trades as shall willingly offer themselves thereunto.

"In which Letters patents his Majesty hath given and granted all the lands, Islands, harbours, Rivers, mines, profits whatsoever within the precincts aforesaid of latitude and of longitude from sea to sea. To the undertakers in purse and planters in person, and to their heirs forever, reserving unto himself and his heirs divers regalities and parts in royall mines only.

"For the establishment and government of this Colony transplanted by the said letters patents, his majesty hath ordained and appointed a Council to be resident in his City of London. To whom he hath given authority and power to elect nominate and constitute as well Governors and officers of peace or war, as to alter, change and establish any form of government in their discretions, that may best conduce to the good and vancement of the Plantatyon and settling thereof, with divers powers and liberties to confirm them into a corporation of themselves and such only as they shall admit.

"By vertue whereof there hath been three years since 100 men sent thither under conduct of Capt. Newport, to begin this Noble work, who have seated themselves upon a goodly Navygabell River 140 miles into the main and hath been yearly supplyed with the like number, whose weak and feeble endevours consisting of so few persons, who have been most part employed in providing for the necessities of life, have yet given such assured testimony of a most rich fertile and wholesome soil, abounding in mines of Copper, steele and Iron, and full of goodly timber for building and mastage of ships, of divers rich dyes, drugs and gums, the Fir and pich tree, woods for soap-ashes and clapboard, vines, and materials for sweet oil, hemp, flax, and hops; Rich furres and skins, fishing for pearl, cod and Sturgeon within the bay and of all those Rich marchandyse which with great charge and pains are sought in the North Eastern Voyages.

"Upon which assurance the undertakers having made one common and joint stock to continue undivided until the advancement thereof shall be able to make the supplyes: have this present May set forth 8. ships and a pynace under the conduct of Sir Thomas Gates Knight and Governor of Virginia with 600 men, to undertake more roundly, the plantation. And considering these numbers are yet too few, *either to defend themselves against an enemy that daily threatens*, or to send back a present return, that may answer the expectation of such a business, or to make any great progress either into plantation or discovery. A new resolution is taken to prepare ten ships and 1000 men to attend the Lord De la Warr in the end of August next for the better expedition and execution whereof we desire to Invite unto us and our Company so many of his Majesty's subjects or others that be willing or desirous to join their purses or persons in this present supply, who shall be as free to all liberties and privileges as if they had begun the first year and shall have ratible according to their adventures of money, or according to the value of his person,

that shall go, or of his art or service proportionably, his equal divident both of land to plant upon and of all mines and other profits whatsoever therein, as also freedom of Trade after the first Divident and his part respectively out of the joint stocke or Treasury of London, of all merchandyes and goods whatsoever that shall be receaved. For assurance whereof he shall have, upon his money delivered to the Treasurer resident in London, a bill of freedom and adventure under our Seal.

"May the 29. 1609. Signed under neth.

"Henry. Southanton. Penbroc. L. Lisle.
Tho. La Warre. Tho Smythe.
The lord Mountagell. Robert Mansfeld.
Tho. Gates. Walter Cope.
Tho: Roe."

"The above document was copied by me from an original paper in the collection of the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat, Co. Wilts, being No. 34 in vol. i. of the Series called the 'Whitelocke Papers.'

"John Edward Jackson, F. S. A.
"Rector of Leigh Delamere, near Chippenham,
and Hon. Canon of Bristol Cathedral.
"28 July, 1886."

In his letter accompanying this, and other papers sent, Canon Jackson says: "I am glad you found the extracts I sent you interesting. The Marquis of Bath laughingly told me that I should be sure to hear from you again, with further wants; and, to be prepared for that, he bade me take the Virginia papers home with me, as he might not happen to be at Longleat again for some little time. So that I am able now at once to send you copies of the Whitelocke documents. . . .

"No. 34 is in a very quaint old hand and the ink faded; but I think I have got it all right, except one word. . . . I cannot make out whether the name is 'Cap *teyne* Port,' or

'Capt *Newport*.' You may perhaps be able to settle the point, through your familiarity with the names of the early people who went out. . . .

"I was in some little doubt whether the signatures to No. 34 are the original writing of the parties themselves or not; but the ink of the signatures is so precisely the same in one and all as that of the document itself, that I now consider the names to be merely imitated from the original document. Still, the document is not headed as a copy (as No. 38 is) [see CXXI.], so that it may after all be the real original, and the signatures, *bona fide*, those of the parties themselves. If they are not the real signatures, they are an admirable imitation, as I know most of them perfectly well, especially that of the old Earl of Pembroke, who in many letters and papers that I have seen adopted the form of Penbroc.

"My elder brother happens to be the vicar of St. Sepulchre's Church in London, in which (or rather in a former church on the same site, which perished in the great fire of London in Charles II.'s reign) Capt. J. Smith of Pocahontas fame was buried. Some years ago, some visitors from Virginia came to his church anxious to find any memorial of the captain, but his monument had perished in that fire. My brother used to point out a fragment of gravestone, supposed to be for Captain Smith, as it had upon it three Turks' heads: and such heads I believe occur upon the coat of arms of a Smith family. But Colonel Chester, a well known London genealogist (now dead), explained to my brother that the heads as arranged on the stone were not in the right heraldic order for Smith's arms, so my brother's good intentions of finding Captain Smith's monument came to naught. One of the Virginian visitors to his church (not to have to leave the spot without some relic or other) appropriated, greatly to my brother's amusement, a little root of ivy that was growing against the church wall. I hope it found a welcome and congenial encouragement in the soil of Virginia. . . . J. E. Jackson."

CII. LAWS SENT BY GATES.

These laws sent by Gates were afterwards printed in 1611 (see CXC.), and they will be found in Force's reprint, in vol. iii., Laws, etc., pp. 9–28.

CIII. MATTHEW TO SHREWSBURY.

FROM LODGE'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH HISTORY, VOLUME III. PAGES 254–256.

June 8, 1609. Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York, to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

. . . . . .

"But why do I so long discourse with your Lordship of inordinate Pascoe. Let me rather intreat your Lordships honourable advertisement, when I shall be somewhat nearer you in Nottinghamshire, what in earnest they do at Venice, yea in Austria and Bohemia, for toleration of our religion in those parts, whereof much is bruited, more possible than probable; as likewise what quarter is kept between the King of Denmark, with Sweden, or Polonia; for of Virginia there be so many tractales, divine, human, historical, political, or call them as you please, as no further intelligence I dare desire. . . .

"At Cawood Castle, June 8th 1609.

"Your Lordship's assured to be commanded.

"TOBIAS EBORACEN."

CIV. NEW FRANCE.

This tract describes the country north of Virginia, and may be called a companion to LXXXIV.

June 12, 1609, Master George Bisshop entered at Stationers' Hall for publication, "A booke called Nova ffrancia, or the Description of yat parte of Newe ffrance which

is one continent with Virginia. Translated out of ffrench into Englishe." [By P. Erondelle.] It was published with the following title : —

"Nova Francia, or the Description of that part of New France which is one Continent with Virginia. Described in the three late Voyages and plantation made by Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur de Pont-Gravé, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, into the countries called by the Frenchmen La Cadie, lying to the South West of Cape Breton. Together with an excellent treatise of all the commodities of the said countries, and maners of the naturall inhabitants of the same," etc.

The preface is as follows : —

"Gentle reader, the whole volume of the navigations of the French nation into the West Indies (comprised in three bookes) was brought to me to be translated, by Mr. Richard Hackluyt, a man who for his worthy and profitable labours, is well known to most men of worth, not only of this Kingdome, but also of forrain parts, and by him this part was selected and chosen from the whole worke, for the particular use of this nation, to the end that comparing the goodnesse of the lands of the northern parts heerein mentioned, with that of Virginia, which (though in one and the selfe same continent, and both lands adjoining) must be far better by reason it stands more Southerly neerer to the Sunne; greater encouragement may be given to prosecute that generous and goodly action in planting and peopling that country to the better propagation of the Gospel of Christ, the salvation of innumerable souls, and general benefit of this land, too much pestred with over many people. . . . If a man that sheweth foorth effectually the zealous care he hath to the wellfare and common good of his country deserveth praises of the same, I refer to the judgement of them that abhor the vice of ingratitude (hatefull above all to God and good men) whether the said M^r^ Hakluyt (as well for the first procuring of this translation, as for many workes of his set out by him for the good and ever-

lasting fame of the English nation) deserveth not to reape thankes."

It is dedicated "To the Bright Starre of the North, Henry Prince of Great Britaine," and the "Epistle Dedicatorie" exalts him for permitting the translation to be dedicated to him, thus to assist in converting the Savages of Virginia."

The book of some 125,000 words is a translation of Books IV. and VI. of Lescarbot's "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France," first edition, Paris, 1609, and with the book was issued a copy of the French map of New-France. It has not been reprinted in modern times; but copies of the original are to be found in the following libraries in the United States, viz: Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Historical Society, Congressional at Washington, D. C., Harvard College, and Carter-Brown.[1] An original in the Bolton Corney sale (England) in 1871 brought £37.

Lescarbot says, "It is well to live in a mild climate, since one is perfectly comfortable and one has the choice; but Death pursues us every where, I have been told by a pilot from Hâvre de Grace, who was with the English in Virginia, 24 years ago [1585?] that after their arrival there, 36 of them died in three months; and yet Virginia is placed between the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth degree of latitude, which is considered a happy position for a Country. . . .

"It is of the greatest importance in such a country to have from the beginning domestic cattle and fowle of every kind and to take there large numbers of fruit-trees, so as to have soon the variety and refreshment necessary for the health of those who wish there to fill up the earth."

The sixth book of Lescarbot, containing the manners, customs and ways of living of the West Indians of New France, gives something of the religion, language, customs, etc., of the Virginia Indians, also, something of the com-

[1] "I have two copies of *Nova Francia*, one slightly imperfect." — CHARLES H. KALBFLEISCH.

modities, trees, birds, animals, and country of Virginia, taken chiefly from "an English Historian who has himself lived there," that is Hariot.

CV. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 37.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the king of Spain, dated Highgate, July 5, 1609.

"SIRE. Captain Gach [Gates] has sailed for Virginia with the men and women of whom I wrote to Y. M. and apparatus for building ships and forts; and the Lord de la 'Wari' will sail with a goodly number of people in the Spring. I have a *paper* which 'Vata ralas'[1] [Walter Ralegh] wrote, who is a prisoner in the Tower, and it is he who discovered that land and whom they consider here a very great personage. The Members of the Council of Virginia follow this paper; it ought to be translated because it is the original which he had and when it is finished we shall compare it with the chart[2] which they have caused to be made, and by it, the way which they take will be understood; where they are fortifying themselves and all the rest that Y. M. commands to be known. The Lord of Arundel may be held in suspicion on account of the mean satisfaction which he has given, but in this I think he speaks with a desire that they should order those people to go away from there, because to him, as a Catholic, they did not confide this business. May God preserve Y. M." etc.

[MEM. — July 1, 1609, the Lord Mayor of London issued his precepts to the companies, accompanied by a

[1] The name of Sir Walter Ralegh has been spelled in very many different ways; but it will be seen that Zuñiga has been able to spell it in an entirely original manner. I have not yet found this paper, which was evidently a very important document.

[2] Neither have I found this very important chart, but I have not given up all hope of finding both "the paper" and "the chart."

copy of certain "Motives and Reasons" to induce the citizens of London to undertake the new planting and peopling with Protestants, the crown lands in the Province of Ulster, in the north of Ireland, particularly in the county of Derry. See March 29, 1613.]

CVI. BUCKLER'S PETITION.

July 25, 1609. County Dorset.

Two petitions of Andrew Buckler of Wyke-Regis, to Salisbury, to be admitted to tenements in the manor of Wyke-Regis, parcel of the Queen's jointure, which had descended to him whilst he was absent in Virginia, states that two years past he went an adventurer to Virginia, and is about to return thither, with reference and report thereon.

These petitions are No. 50 in vol. xlvii., Domestic Correspondence James I., and the following, without date, is No. 10 in vol. lix., "Petition of Andrew Buckler to Salisbury, that his tenement in the manor of Wyke Regis, Dorsetshire, may be resettled on himself and his *intended* wife."

CVII. MORYSON TO SALISBURY.

FROM THE CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, IRELAND, 1608–1610.

August, 1609. Sir Richard Moryson to the Earl of Salisbury.

. . . . . .

"Should his Lordship please to allow of *them* [the Irish pirates] to be employed in the intended plantation of Virginia, which he has not yet motioned to them, he thinks good use might be made of them for the present there, both in defending them now in the beginning, if they be disturbed in their first settling, and in relieving their wants from time to time."

See also Mr. Neill in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of Hist. and Biog.," No. 2 of vol. ix. p. 156, note.

[Mem. — October 18, letters were read to the East India Company from the Lord Mayor of London and Lord Treasurer, intimating that His Majesty, having lately made a treaty with the French king, is inclined to establish a company of English merchants there; part of those present consent to be of the French company. — From Minutes E. I. Co. This French company was afterwards chartered, and Sir Thomas Smythe was the governor; but I have never seen a copy of the charter and do not know the date.]

CVIII. ECIJA'S RELATION.

"Relacion del Viage" (June–September, 1609) of Ecija the Spanish Pilot-Major of Florida, who was sent to Virginia to find out what the English were doing there. Mr. John Gilmary Shea, LL. D., mentions this Relation in "The Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. ii. pp. 285, 286, and I have made every effort to obtain it for publication and preservation in this work, but without success. It is one of the manuscripts collected by the late Buckingham Smith, and is now in the library of the New York Historical Society.

The will of Buckingham Smith which governs the disposition and use of his historical MSS. is as follows: "My manuscripts of historical character I give to the New York Historical Society with this reservation, that during the lifetime of John Gilmary Shea they be for his consultation and use and none other, and for such use may be withdrawn from the custody of the Society, any of them, two months at a time."

The interpretation put by Dr. Shea on this is that he has no power to allow the paper or a translation to be included in this work.

I tried, but without success, to find a copy in Spain. If I had found it there I could have given it here, as to the last moment I have hoped to be able to do.

CIX. EXTRACT FROM VAN METEREN'S "HISTORIE DER NIEDERLANDEN."

"October 28. 1609. Henry Hudson in the Halfe-Moone arrived at Dartmouth, in England whence he informed his employers, the directors of the Dutch East India Company of his voyage." A full account of the voyages of "Henry Hudson, The Navigator," will be found in the Hakluyt Society volume for 1860. In this voyage, March 27 to October 28, 1609, he had hoped to find a passage through America in about the latitude of 40°. "This idea[1] had been suggested to him by some letters and maps which his friend Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the Western Ocean (the Pacific) by the north of the Southern English Colony. Had this information been true (experience goes as yet to the contrary), it would have been a great advantage as indicating a short way to India."

[Mem. — Captain Samuel Argall, who left Virginia about the first of September, probably reached England late in October, 1609, and probably brought with him the following letter (CX.) from Captain Gabriel Archer, and Captain Smith's "True Relation of the Causes of our defailments," which has not been found and of which we know nothing save what Smith tells us himself. For some reference to this voyage of Captain Argall's see CXIV.]

[1] With "this idea," Hudson explored our coast from about 37° 15′ to 44°. August $\frac{3}{12}$ he was off the coast of Virginia. August $\frac{12}{22}$ he entered and explored the Delaware Bay. In September he was exploring the Hudson River. "Sailed [in his ship] up the river as far as 42° 40′. Then their boat went higher up," $\frac{\text{September } 24}{\text{October } 4}$ sailed from New York and reached Dartmouth as aforesaid, $\frac{\text{October } 28}{\text{November } 7}$, 1609.

CX. LETTER OF GABRIEL ARCHER.

This document was printed in 1625 in "Purchas his Pilgrimes," vol. iv. pp. 1733, 1734. It was one of the manuscripts preserved by the Rev. Richard Hakluyt, which came into the hands of Purchas. It was reprinted in 1884, by Mr. Arber, in his Introduction to Captain John Smith's Works, at Birmingham, England; but I believe it has never been printed in this country. It was thought worthy of preservation by Hakluyt. It is much to be regretted that Purchas has suppressed a part of it. The bent of the mind of Purchas was towards religious customs, etc., of people, rather than to historical facts.

A Letter of M. Gabriel Archer, touching the voyage of the fleet of ships which arrived at Virginia, without Sir Tho. Gates and Sir George Summers, 1609. [Aug. 31, 1609.]

"From Woolwich the fifteenth of May 1609, seven saile weyed anchor, and came to Plimmouth the twentieth day, where Sir George Somers, with two small vessels consorted with us. Here we tooke into the Blessing (being the ship wherein I went) sixe mares and two Horses; and the Fleet layed in some necessaries belonging to the action: In which businesse we spent time till the second of June. And then wee set sayle to sea, but crost by South-west windes, we put into Faulemouth, and there staying till the eight of June, we then gate out. Our Course was commanded to leave the Canaries one hundred leagues to the Eastward at least, and to steere away directly for Virginia, without touching at the West Indies, except the Fleet should chance to be separated, then they were to repaire to the *Bermuda*,[1] thereto stay seven dayes in expectation of the Admirall; and if they found him not, then to take their course to Virginia.

"Now thus it happened; about sixe dayes after we lost the sight of England, one of Sir George Somers Pinnasses[2]

[1] This should be "the Baruada" in the West Indies.

[2] The Virginia, which had not arrived when this letter was written.

left our Company, and (as I take it) bare up for England; the rest of the ships, viz; The Sea Adventure *Admirall*, wherein was Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captaine Newport: The Diamond, *Vice-Admirall*, wherein was Captaine Ratcliffe and Captaine King; The Falcon, *Rare-Admirall*, in which was Captaine Martin and Master Nelson: The Blessing, wherein I and Captaine Adams went: The Unitie, wherein Captaine Wood and Master Pett were: The Lion wherein Captaine Webb remained: And the Swallow of Sir George Somers, in which Captaine Moone, and Master Somers went. In the Catch went one Matthew Fitch, Master: and in the Boat of Sir George Somers, called the Virginia, which was built in the North Colony, went one Captaine Davies and one Master Davies. These were the Captaines and Masters of our Fleet.

"We ran a Southerly course from the Tropicke of Cancer, where having the Sun within sixe or seven degrees right over our head in July, we bore away West; so that by the fervent heat and loomes breezes, many of our men fell sicke of the Calenture, and out of two ships was throwne over-boord thirtie-two persons. The Vice-Admirall was said to have the plague[1] in her; but in the Blessing we had not any sicke, albeit we had twenty women and children.

"Upon Saint James day, being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the West Indies, in crossing the Gulfe of Bahoma, there hapned a most terrible and vehement storme, which was a taile of the West Indian Horacano; this *tempest* separated all our Fleet one from another, and

[1] From this it seems that both the calenture or yellow fever, and the plague were taken to Virginia in this fleet; other accounts say it was the calenture only; while others still say it was the plague only. The plague was raging in London from 1603 to 1611, and it is almost certain that cases of this disease were taken to Virginia, while it is a well established fact that the yellow fever committed great havoc among the early emigrants to Virginia, being bred aboard ship in the long voyage through the tropic; it was taken there at this time and these terrible scourges were the chief causes of the following miseries in the colony, which was already in a miserable condition.

it was so violent that men could scarce stand upon the Deckes, neither could any man heare another speake, being thus divided every man steered his owne course, and as it fell out about five or sixe dayes after the storme ceased (which endured fortie foure houres in extremitie) The Lion first, and after the Falcon and The Unity got sight of our shippe, and so we lay away directly for Virginia, finding neither current nor winde opposite, as some have reported, to the great charge of our Counsell and Adventurers. The Unity was sore distressed when she came up with us, for of seventy land men, she had not ten sound, and all her Seamen were downe, but onely the Master and his Boy, with one poore sailer, but we relieved them, and we foure consorting fell into the King's River haply the eleventh of August. In The Unity were borne two children at sea, but both died, being both Boyes.

"When wee came to James Towne, we found a ship which had bin there in the River a moneth before we came; this was sent out of England by our Counsels leave and authority, to fish for Sturgeon, and to goe the ready way, without tracing through the Torrid Zoan, and shee performed it: her Commander was Captaine Argoll (a good Mariner, and a very civill Gentleman) and her Master one *Robert Tindall*.[1]

"The people of our Colonie were found all in health (for the most part) howbeit when Captaine Argoll came in, they were in much distresse, for many were dispersed in the Savages Townes, living upon their almes for an ounce of Copper a day, and fourscore lived twenty miles from the Fort, and fed upon nothing but oysters eight weekes space, having no other allowance at all, neither were the people of the Country able to relieve them if they would. Whereupon Captaine Newport and others have beene much to blame to informe the Counsell of such plenty of victuall in

[1] Smith says the master's name was Thomas Sedan. Smith, for some reason, avoids mentioning Robert Tindall, who made the first maps of Virginia.

First Earl of Bristol

this country, by which meanes they have beene slacke in this supply to give convenient content. Upon this you that be adventurers, must pardon us, if you find not returne of Commodity so ample as you may expect, because the law of nature bids us seeke sustenance first, and then to labour to content you afterwards. But upon this point I shall be more large in my next Letter.[1]

"After our foure ships had bin in harbour a few dayes, came in the Vice-admirall, having cut her maine Mast over boord, and had many of her men very sicke and weake; but she could tell us no newes of our Governour, and some three or foure dayes after her, came in the Swallow,[2] with her maine Mast over boord also, and had a shrewd leake, neither did shee see our Admirall.

"Now did we all lament much the absence of our Governour, for contentions began to grow, and factions and partakings,[3] &c.

. . . . . .

"Inso much as the President,[4] to strengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gave not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen, that came in our Ships: Whereupon they generally (having also my consent) chose Master West, my Lord de la War's brother, to be their Governor, or president *de bene esse*, in the absence of Sir Thomas Gates, or if he miscarried by sea, then to continue till we heard newes from our Counsell in England. This choice

[1] This letter was probably sent in October, by the returning fleet.

[2] Six ships had now arrived. The Sea Venture was wrecked on the Bermudas, a catch went down at sea, and the Virginia had not yet come in.

[3] Purchas gives here the following side-note: "Some things partly, false rumors, partly factious suggestions, are here left out." For cogent reasons, Purchas took sides with Smith in the controversy. He was not impartial, and suppresses the statements of Smith's opponents.

[4] "The President" was Capt. John Smith. Purchas, while omitting Archer's account, adds his own criticism in this side-note: "*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* Hence from the Malecontents which had beene in Virginia before enemies to the President; raising now ill reports at their comming of him arose these stirs, and the following miseries in which this Author with almost the whole Colony perished."

We shall find few things, even in Captain Smith's works, more unjust and misleading than this side-note.

of him they made not to disturbe the old President during his time, but as his authority expired, then to take upon him the sole government, with such assistants of the Captaines, as discreetest persons as the Colonie afforded. Perhaps you shall have it blazoned a mutenie by such as retaine old malice; but Master West, Master Percie and all the respected Gentlemen of worth in Virginia, can and will testifie otherwise upon their oathes. For the King's Patent we ratified, but refused to be governed by the President that now is, after his time was expired, and onely subjected ourselves to Master West, whom we labour to have next President.

"I cannot certifie you of much more as yet, untill we grow to some certaine stay in this our State, but by the other ships you shall know more.

"So with my hartie commendations I cease.

"From James Towne this last of August 1609."

CXI. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 49.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated Highgate, November 23, 1609.

"SIRE: — The vessel of a fisherman[1] has arrived here from Virginia and he says that there the English took from him his fish, because they were short of provisions; and that of the nine ships which I reported to Y. M. as having sailed from here, seven had arrived [in Virginia], but that they heard the Admiral's ship and the Captain's ship have been lost. He also says that the cattle which they have sent there have increased very much. Those who here maintain that Colony wait for some of the ships that are over there to return and then, I think, they will send more.

"'Watawales' [Walter Ralegh] who is in the Tower

[1] This was really Captain Argall.

has left his fortune so that the King may give it to a Scotchman, who thereupon will give him 1200 ducats. Thus he expects to regain his liberty and that the King will banish him to Guiana, where he left some people and wishes to send more.

"May Our Lord" etc.

[MEM. — Late in November, the remnant of Sir Thomas Gates his fleet, returning from Virginia, reached England. "Two of the Ships returning home perished upon the point of Ushant, in one of which [the Diamond] Capt. W. King was master, and one man alone was left to bring home news of their perishing." "The rest of the fleet came ship after ship, *laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement:* and which added the more to our crosse, they brought us newes that the Admirall Ship, with the two Knights and Captaine Newport were missing, severed in a mightie storme outward, and could not be heard of — which we therefore yeelded as lost for many moneths together; and so that Virgine Voyage, which went out smiling on her lovers with pleasant lookes, after her wearie travailes, did thus returne with a rent and disfigured face: for which how justly her friends tooke occasion of sorrow, and others to insult and scoffe, let men of reason judge." Capt. John Smith, who had been sent back from Virginia, arrived in one of these ships, and he never returned to Virginia again. They also brought CXII. and many other documents, now unknown. They were "laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement;" they left the colony in Virginia in the most deplorable condition; at war with the Indians; a terrible disease raging at Jamestown; and the colonists without sufficient provisions or comforts of any kind. Two vessels were wrecked in the terrible tempest met in the voyage outward, and two more were lost in the return voyage. The hand of God was heavy on the enterprise, "and the hand of God reacheth all the Earth," "who can avoid it, or dispute with him?"]

CXII. RADCLIFFE TO SALISBURY.

STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL, JAMES I. VOLUME 1, NUMBER 19.

Published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, Mass.) for October, 1870, pp. 13, 14.

Indorsed: "Captaine John Radcliffe to my Lo: from Virginia."

Addressed: "To the Right Ho^ble^ the Earle of Salisburye[1] Lord high Treasurer of England, deliver these."

"Right honorable, according to your gratious favour being bound, I am bold to write the truth of some late accidentes befalne his Majesties Virginia Collonye.

"Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers Captaine Newport and 180 persons or ther about are not yet arrived and we much feare they are lost and alsoe a small pinnace. The other Shipps came all in, but not together; we were thus separated by a storme, two shipps had *great loss of men by the Calenture* and most of them all much weather beaten. At our arrivall We found an English shipp riding at Jamestowne and Captaine Argoll her Commander. We heard that all the Counsell were dead, but Captain Smith, the President, who reigned sole governor, without assistantes and would at first admitt of no Councell but himselfe. *This man is sent home to answere some misdeamenors, whereof I perswade me he can scarcely clear himselfe from great imputation of blame.* Mr. George Pearcye, my Lord of Northumberlandes brother is elected our President, and Mr. West (my Lord la War's brother) of the Councell, with me and Captaine Martine; and some few of the best and worthyest that inhabitie at Jamestowne are assistantes in their advise unto us. Thus have we planted 100 men at the

[1] The fact that this letter is not written to some unknown person, but to one of the most powerful men in England gives additional strength and importance to the document.

falls and some others upon a champion, the President is at Jamestowne, and I am raysing a fortification upon Point Comfort — also, we have been bold to make stay of a small shipp for discoverye and to procure us victuals whereof we have exceedinge much need, for the country people set no more then sufficeth each familye a yeare, and the wood is yet so thick, as the labor to prepare so much ground as would be to any purpose is more then we can afford; our number being soe necessarylie dispersed: so that if I might be held worthye to advise the directors of this business: I hold it fitt there should be a sufficient supply of victualls for one year, and then to be sparinge, it would less hinder the Collonye. Thus fearinge to be too offensive in a tedious boldness I cease, wishinge all hapinees to your Honnor, yea, wear it in the expense of my life and bloud.

"From Jamestowne this 4th of October 1609.

"Your Honnors in all obedience and most humble dutye.

"JOHN RADCLYEFFE
comenly called." [Seal]

PERIOD III.

FROM THE RETURN OF THE FLEET IN NOVEMBER, 1609, TO THE RETURN OF ARGALL IN JULY, 1614.

THE long period of the crucial test, which the undaunted council met "with a constant and patient resolution, untill by the mercies of God" they overcame every obstacle. The most trying time of this period was from the return of Lord De la Warr in June, 1611, to the return of Argall in July, 1614. To incidental trials and the continual struggle with Spain was added the controversy with France and the Netherlands, yet a few constant adventurers under the lead of Sir Thomas Smythe "were never discouraged; but faithfully yielded their purses, credit and Counseil to uphold the plantation." This was "the darkest hour before the break of day."

CXIII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 52.

Copy of an original letter of the Embassador Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain, dated "Iguet" (Highgate?), December 10, 1609.

"SIRE. From Dover I have received a letter in which I am told that three vessels of those which sailed from here to Virginia have returned to the Downs. They confirm what I have written Y. M. that the Captain's ship was lost with the most distinguished people who went, and the *orders* [commissions] according to which they were to govern in that part. They tell me that the sailors are not well pleased

because they suffer much from hunger there, and do not bring a thing of importance in their ships. After all I think they will have to send again people because no doubt, the one reason why they wish to hold that place is because it appears to them well suited to send out pirates. I shall continue to give an account of all I may hear to Y. M., whose Catholic Person Our Lord preserve as all Christendom needeth. At Highgate, Dec^r^ 10. 1609.

"Don Pedro de Çuñiga."

CXIV. A TRUE AND SINCERE DECLARATION.

December 14, 1609, entered at Stationers' Hall, by John Stepney, under the hands of Lord De la Ware, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Cope, Master Waterson, "A True and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation," etc. It has never been reprinted, I believe. Originals are in Harvard College Library and in the library of Mr. Kalbfleisch of New York.

In June, 1885, Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, literary and fine art auctioneers, 47 Leicester Square, London, sold an original by auction to Mr. Quaritch for £45. I suspect that it was bought for Mr. Kalbfleisch. The Hon. John R. Bartlett of the Carter-Brown Library wrote me in July, 1885, that "he had sought the book in vain for many years."

I give the whole of this tract from a copy made for me at the British Museum in 1883. It is the first tract bearing the indorsement: "*Set Forth by the authority of the Governors and councillers established for that plantation*," and, I believe, contains more historical information regarding our foundation than any other publication of the authorities, or authorized by them.

The manifold disasters (although evidently beyond human control) of the last voyage made some public explanation necessary, and the managers of the Virginia Company made the following wonderful appeal to the public in be-

half of the enterprise. Portions of the tract are really prophetic. The way in which Smith and his authors have turned the disasters of these times — which were the acts of God — into arguments for Smith is unpardonable. The date, "1610," on the title-page has led some authors to suppose that the tract did not issue from the press "until after March 25, 1610;" but it was then "the custom of the London printers to begin the year on their books at Michaelmas, so that after September 29, 1609, they will date them at the bottom of the title-page, 1610." The tract is very short it was entered for publication 14th December, 1609, and was probably published very soon after that date with the following title-page: —

"A True and Sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the *Plantation* begun in *Virginia* of the degrees which it hath received; and meanes by *which it hath beene advanced:* and *the resolution* and *conclusion* of *His Majesties Councel* of that Colony for the constant and patient prosecution thereof, untill by the mercies of God it shall *retribute a fruitful harvest to the Kingdome of heaven, and this Common-Wealth.*

"*Set Forth by the authority of the Governors and Councellors* established for that *Plantation.*

"A word spoken in due season, is like apples of gold, with pictures of Silver. — Prover. 25. 11.

"Feare is nothing else but a betraying of the succors which reason offereth. — Wis. 17. 11.

"At London. — Printed for *J. Stepneth*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crane in *Paules* Churchyard. 1610."

The tract begins with a repetition of the first part of the title: "A true and sincere declaration of the purpose . . . to this Commonwealth," and then continues as follows: —

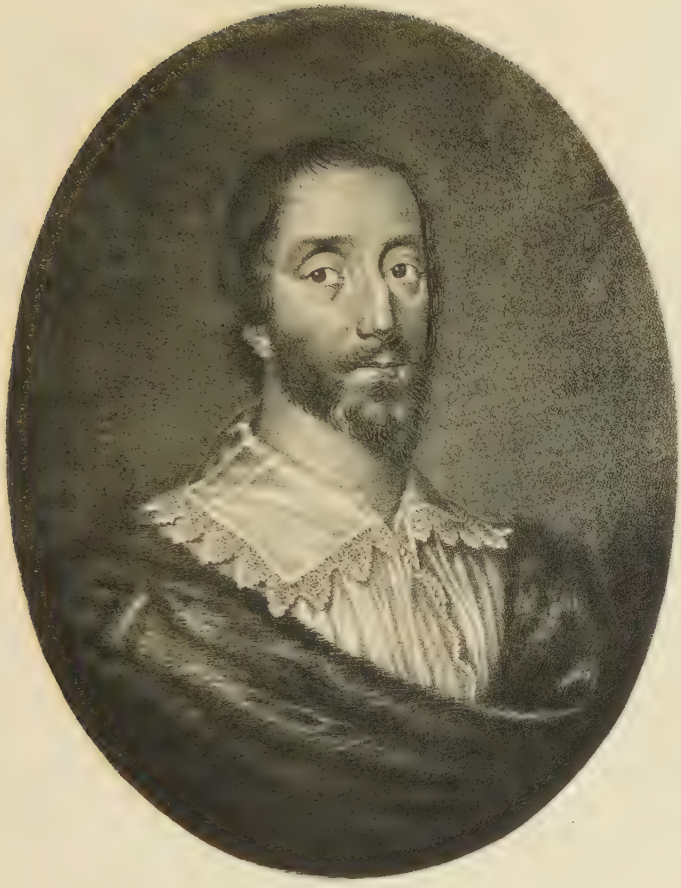
"It is reserved and onely proper to *Divine Wisdome* to foresee and ordaine, both the *endes* and *wayes* of every action. In *humaine prudence* it is all can be required, to propose *Religious* and *Noble* and *Feasable* ends; and it can have no absolute assurance, and infalliblenesse in the *waies* and *meanes*, which are contingent and various, perhaps equally reasonable, subject to unpresent circumstances, and doubtfull events, which ever dignifie or betray the *Councell's* from whence they were derived. And the higher the quality, and nature, and more removed from ordinary action (such as this is of which we discourse) the more perplexed and misty are the pathes there-unto.

"Upon which grounds, We purpose to deliver roundly and clearly, our *endes* and *wayes* to the hopefull Plantations begun in *Virginia:* and to examine the truth, and safety of both, to redeeme ourselves and so Noble an action, from the imputations and aspertions, with which ignorant rumor, virulent envy, or impious subtilty, daily callumniateth our industries, and the successe of it: — Wherein we doubt not, not only to satisfie every modest and wel-affected heart of this Kingdome; but to excite and Kindle the affections of the Incredulous, and lazy; and to coole and asswage the curiosity of the jealous and suspitious; and to temper and convince, the malignity of the false and treacherous. The *Principal* and *Maine Endes* (out of which are easily derived to any meane understanding infinitlesse, and yet great ones) were *first* to preach and baptize into *Christian Religion*, and by propagation of the *Gospell*, to recover out of the armes of the Divell, a number of poore and miserable soules, wrapt up unto death, in almost *invincible ignorance;* to endeavour the fulfilling, and accomplishment of the number of the elect, which shall be gathered from out all corners of the earth; and to add our myte to the Treasury of Heaven, that as we pray for the coming of the Kingdome of Glory, so to expresse in our actions, the same desire, if God, have pleased, to use so weak instruments, to the ripening and consummation thereof.

"*Secondly*, to provide and build up for the publike *Honour* and *Safety* of our *gratious King* and his *Estates* (by the favor of our Superiors even in that care) some small Rampier of our owne, in this opportune and general summer of peace, by transplanting the ranknesse and multitude of increase in our people; of which there is left no vent, but age; and evident danger that the number and infinitenesse of them, will out-grow the matter, whereon to worke for their life and sustentation, and shall one infest and become a burthen to another. But by this provision they may be seated as a Bulwarke of defence, in a place of advantage, *against a stranger enemy*, who shall in great proportion grow rich in treasure, which was exhausted to a lowe estate; and may well indure an increase of his people long wasted with a continual war, and dispersed uses and losses of them: Both which cannot chose but threaten us, if we consider, and compare the ends, ambitions and practices of our neighbour countries, with our owne.

"*Lastly*, the appearance and assurance of *Private commodity* to the *particular undertakers*, by recovering and possessing to themselves a fruitfull land, whence they may furnish and provide this Kingdome, with all such [a] necessities and defects under which we labour, and are now enforced to buy, and receive at the curtesie of other Princes, under the burthen of great Customs, and heavy impositions, and at so high rates in trafique, by reason of the great waste of them from whence they are now derived, which threatens almost an impossibility long to recover them, or at least such losse in exchange, as both the Kingdome and Merchant, will be weary of the deerenesse and peril. These being the true, and essential ends of this *Plantation*, and corresponding to our first rule, of *Religious*, *Noble* and *Feasable*, two of which are not questioned, the third easie, and demonstrable in the second limme, when we shall examine the causes of some disaster and distemper in the *wayes* unto them: These being admitted of, for such as we pretend them to be, and

(a) Copper, Iron, Steel, Timber for ships, yards, masts, cordage, sope-ashes.



ENGRAVED BY DIGGE

standing yet firme and safe in themselves, we hope easily to justifie the first part of our undertaking, and presume to averre, that in this branche there ariseth to no peaceable man any scruple or doubt, to suspect the issue, or to with drawe his affection and assistance or to Callumniat the Project, or our choise of it.

"In discussion and examination of the *Second part*, which is the waves, by which we hope to arrive at these ends, and in which no *humaine reason* can so provide but that many *circumstances* and *accidents*, shall have as great a stroake in the event, as any *Councell* shall have; We must first briefly deliver the course of this *Plantation*, from the Infancie thereof; and then let us equally consider, whether from so small a roote, it hath not had a blessed and unexpected growth. Next, we will call before us all the objections, and confesse ingenuously all the errors and discouragements, which seeme to lye so heavie, as almost to presse to death this brave and hopefull action; and releeve it, we doubt not, from that, which with reasonable men, can at most be but a pause, and no entire desertion, and restore it to the Premarie estate, life and reputation.

"In the yeare 1606, *Captaine Newport*, with three ships, discovered the Bay of *Chessiopeock* in the height of thirty-seven degrees of Northerly latitude, and landed a hundred persons of sundry qualities and Arts, in a River falling into it; and left them under the Government of a *President*[1] and *Councell*, according to the authority derived from, and limited by his *Majesties Letters Pattents*. His returne gave us no hope of any extraordinary consequence, yet only upon report of the *Navigablenesse* of the *River*, *pleasure*, *fertility* and *scituation* of the land, to our *projected ends*, we freshly and cheerefully sent in the next yeare a like number: and yet also receiving nothing new,[2] we had courage and constancie to releeve them the third

[1] He left June 22, 1607, when Captain Wingfield was president of the council.

[2] Newport and Nelson returned in May and July, 1608. Captain Ratcliffe was president of the council when they left Virginia.

time, with one hundred more: at which returne[1] experience of error in the equality of Governors, and some out-rages, and follies committed by them, had a little shaken so tender a body; after consultation and advise of all the inconveniences in these three supplies, and finding them to arise out of two rootes, the *Forme* of *Government*, and *length* and *danger* of the passage,[2] by the southerly course of the Indyes: — To encounter the *first*, we did resolve and obtain, to renew our Letters Pattents, and to procure to ourselves, such ample and large priviledges and powers by which we were at liberty to reforme and correct those already discovered, and to prevent such as in the future might threaten us; and so, to set and furnish out under the conduct of one *able* and *absolute Governor*, a large supply of five hundred men, with some number of families, of wife, children and Servants, to take fast holde and roote in that land, and this resolution was with much alacritie and confidence. *And* to meete the *Second Inconvenience* we did also prepare to set out, one small ship, for discovery of a shorter way, and to make tryall of the *Fishing* within our Bay and River.

"Hitherto, untill the sending of this *Avisall* for *experience*, and *Fleete* for setling the *Government*, appeares no distaste, nor despaire; for every supply in some respect, was greater than other, and that in preparation greater than them all in every respect, and must in reason hold *Anologie* and *proportion* with our expectations and hopes at the dis-inboging of it. So that what-so-ever wound or Palsie this Noble action hath gotten and the sick-ness under which it seemes to faint, must needs arise out of the succesee of these two: which wee will now examine apart with all Equitye and Cleernesse, and waigh, whither there be any such reason, to desist from the prosecution thereof, in recti-

[1] Newport returned from Virginia the third time in January, 1609. When he left Virginia Captain Smith was president of the council.

[2] The danger was twofold: first of taking the yellow fever; second of being taken by the Spaniards in or near the West Indies.

fied judgement, or to fall so lowe in our resolutions, and opinions of it, as rumor and ignorance doth pretend we do, or have cause to do.

"For the *Discoverie*, *Captaine Argoll* received our commission under Our Seale, with instruction (to avoide all danger of quarrell with the subjects of the King of *Spaine*) not to touch upon any of his Dominions actually possessed, or rightly entituled unto, and to shape his course free from the roade of Pyrates, that hang upon all streights and skirts of lands; and to attempt a direct and cleare passage, by leaving the Canaries to the East, and from thence, to run in a streight westerne course, or some point neere thereunto. And so to make an experience of the Windes and Currants which have affrighted all undertakers by the North. By which discovery, there would growe to us much securitie, and ease, and all occasion of offence removed, and we should husband and save a moyetie of the charge in victuall and freight, which was expended, and lost in the Southerne passage. To these endes he set sayle From Portsmouth the fift day of May; and shaping his course South-South-West to the height of thirty degrees, leaving the Canaries a hundred leagues to the East, he found the windes large, and so tooke his course direct West, and did never turne nearer the South: and being in the longitude of the Barmudos he found the winde a little scant upon him, yet so that on the thirteenth of *July* he recovered our harbor: and in tryall found no currant, nor any thing else which should deter us from this way. He made his journey in nine weekes, and of that was becalmed fourteen dayes whereupon he hath divers times since his returne publikely avowed, and undertaken to make this passage within seven weeks: and that the windes in all this course, are as variable, as at other places, and no apparant inconvenience in the way. So that the maine *end* of this advise hath succeeded almost beyond our hopes. The *second* for fishing, proved so plentiful, especially of sturgion, of which sort he could have loaded many ships, if he had

He that went for that purpose dyed in the way.

had some man of skill to pickell and prepare it for Keeping; whereof he brought sufficient testimony both of the flesh and Caveary, that no discreet man will question the truth of it — so it appears cleerely that from hence there can be derived no cause to suspect or desist from our first endes, but so contrary, that in this project both our *purposes* and *wayes* were happy and successfull even to our desires. But from this Ship ariseth a rumor of the necessity and distresse our people were found in,[1] for want of victual of which though the noise have exceeded the truth, yet we doe confesse a great part of it; But can lay aside the cause and fault from the dessigne, truely and home upon the misgovernment of the Commanders, by dissention and ambition among themselves, and upon the Idlenesse and bestiall slouth, of the common sort, who were active in nothing but adhearing to factions and parts, even to their owne ruine, like men almost desperate of all supply, so conscious, and guilty they were to themselves of their owne demerit and lasinesse. But so soone as Captaine *Argoll* arrived among them, whose presence and example gave new assurance of our Cares, and new life to their indeavors, by fishing onely in few days, they were all recovered, growne hearty, able and ready to undertake every action: so that if it bee considered that without industry no land is sufficient to the Inhabitants: and that the trade to which they trusted betrayed them to loose the opportunity of seed-time, and so to rust and weare out themselves: for the Naturals withdrew from all commerce and trafficke with them, cunningly making a war upon them [the colonists], which they [the Indians] felt not, who durst no otherway appear an enemy. And they being at division among themselves, and without warrant from hence, could not resolve to inforce that, which might have preserved them, and which in such a necessity is most lawfull to doe, every thing returning from civil Propryety

[1] When Argall arrived in July, 1609, and found the colony in great distress, Smith was still president of the council.

to Naturall, and Primary Community: — Lastly if it be remembred, that this extremitie in which they were is now relieved, (which is as happy in the presage of God's future blessing as in his present providence and mercy) was but an effect of that, we did fore-see in the first Government, and for which the forme was chaunged, and the new in project, and therefore cannot be objected as any just exception to the successe of this, but as a consequent considered, and digested in the former. It is then I say *evident*, that in all the progresse of this *discovery*, or any*thing accidental to it*, there cannot be rack'd nor pressed out any confession, either of error in the *ends*, or mis-carriadges in the *waies* unto them.

"To the *establishment* of a *Government*, such as should meete with all the revealed inconveniences; We gave our Commission to an able and worthy Gentleman, *Sir Thomas Gates*, whome we did nominate and appoint *sole* and *absolute Governor* [1] of that Colony, under divers limitations and instructions expressed in writing: and with him we sent *Sir George Summers* Admirall, and Captaine *Newport* vice-Admirall of *Virginia*, and divers other persons of rancke and quality, in seven *ships* and two *pinnaces*, with several commissions sealed, successively to take place one after another, considering the mortality and uncertainty of human life, and these to be devided [2] into several ships.

"Our fleet weighed anchor from *Falmouth* the eight of June, the winde being fair, they shaped a course for the *height* of the *Canaries;* within few days sail, the *Governor* calling a *Councel* of all the *Captains*, *Masters* and *Pilots*, it was resolved, they should run southerly unto the *Tropic*, and from thence bear away *West:* (which error will take up all the objections of sickness, the sun being then in it,[3] was

[1] Gates was the first sole and absolute governor of the colony. It had been on the tapis to make Lord De la Warr lord governor and captain general and send him over, but the idea was not carried out until February, 1610.

[2] See also *A True Declaration* (CXL.), Force's Reprint, p. 9, in explanation of certain defects.

[3] The sun being in the tropic was supposed to cause an infection then known as "the calenture," now as the yellow fever.

the cause of all the infection, and disease of our men). At this consultation, was delivered an instruction under seale to every Master, with a provision what course should be taken, if the fleet were separated; which was that if the windes scanted or were contrary, or that any lost *sight* of the Admiral, they should steer away for the *West Indies*, and make the Baruada an Iland to the North of *Dominico*, and there to have their *Rendevous*, and to stay seven days one for another.

"In this height and resolution, short of the *West-Indies* 150 leagues, on *St. James* day a terrible tempest overtook them, and lasted in extremity 48 hours, which scattered the whole fleet, and wherein some of them spent their masts, and others were much distressed. Within three days four of the fleet met in consort, and hearing no news of their Admiral and the winds returning large for *Virginia*, and they wearied and beaten, it was resolved among them, to bear right away for Our Bay, and to decline their commission, which within few days they made and arrived in the *King's River*, on the eleventh of August: In this passage, fourteen degrees to the south-ward of *Virginia*, ran no current with them, which should hinder or make difficult that in Proposition by the North-West. Within six days after came in one, and within five, another of our fleet, the *Masters* of both having fallen upon the same Councel by the opportunity of the wind, not to seek the Baruada, but to steer away for our *Harbor*. Which doubtless the Admiral himselfe did not observe, but obeyed his own directions and is the true or probable cause of his being cast so for into suspition; where perhaps bound in with wind, perhaps enforced to stay the Masting or mending of some-what in his ship, torn or lost in this tempest; we doubt not, but by the mercy of God he is safe, with the Pinnace which attended him, and shall both, or are by this time, arrived at our Colony.

"Not long after these, another of our small Pinnaces, yet also unaccounted for, recovered the River alone; and now

seven of our fleet being in, they landed in health neer four hundred persons; who being put ashore *without* their *Governor*, or any order from him (all the Commissioners and principal persons being aboard him) no man would acknowledge a superior nor could from this headless and unbridled multitude, be anything expected but disorder and riot, nor any Councel prevent, or fore-see, the successe of these wayes.

"Now if wee compare the disasters of this *supply*, with the *main ends*, it will appear they have weakened none of them; but that they still remain safe and feasable, for anything ariseth in objection out of them. For that these accidents and contingencies, were ever to be expected, and a resolution was to be put on at first, armed against the probability of them. Who can avoid the hand of God, or dispute with him? Is he fit to undertake any great action, whose courage is shaken and dissolved with one storm? Who knows, whither he that disposed of our hearts to so good beginnings, be now pleased to try our constancy and perseverence, and to discerne between the ends of our desires, whither *Piety* or *Covetousness* carryed us swifter? For if the *first* were the *principal scope*, hence ariseth nothing to infirm or make that impossible: But as it falleth out in business of greatest consequence, sometimes the noblest ends, upon which wee are most intense, are furthest removed from the first steps made unto them, and must by lesser and meaner be approched; *Plantation* of *religion* being the *main* and *cheefe purpose*, admits many things of less and secondary consequence of necessity to be done before it: for an error or miscarriage in one of which, to desist or stagger, were to betray our *principal end* cowardly and faintly, and to draw upon ourselves just scorne and reprehension.

"Whither we shall discourse out of reason or example; that every action hath Proportional difficulties, to the greatness thereof, such as must necessarily be admitted from the first conception, and such as even in the passage dignify

both the actors and the work, if with prudence they foresee all the hazards, and with *Patience* and *Constancy* meet and encounter them. It must either be confessed, that it was folly from the *Origin* and first *Step*, not to have been prepared for such as these; or that it is none now; not to quit it, for them, but the greatest of all to say, Who would have expected this? If we cast our eye upon the *Spanish Conquest* of the *Indyes*, how aboundant their stories are of Fleets, Battailes, and Armies lost: eighteen upon the attempt of *Guiana*, and more than seventy in both the *Indyes*, and yet with how indefatigable industry, and prosperous fate, they have pursued and vanquished all these, their many Armies maintained in *Europe*, can witnesse, with too lamentable an experience.

"If we compare the *beginnings*, they were meaner than ours, and subject to all the same and much more uncertainty. If the *Religion*, which shall crown the success, it admits no controversy nor comparison, among those to whom we write: if the *Commodities*, they, which we have in assurance and knowledge, are of more necessity, and those in hope equally rich and abondant.

"But to come home to our purpose: that which seems to disharten or shake our first grounds in this supply; ariseth from two principal sources, of which one was cause of the other; First, the Tempest: and can any man expect an answer for that? next the *absence* of the Governor, an affect of the former, for the loss of him is in suspence, and much reason of his safety against some doubt; and the hand of God reacheth all the Earth. Now if *these two only* be the main Crosses, which stagger the feasableness, consider that of three voyages before, no man miscarried in the way, and that all other *depend* on these, as the *misgovernment of our men, their illness, their want, and the empty returne of our fleet*, wherein if we *recover* and *correct the cause*, we *vanquish* all things *consequent* unto it, and yet in appearance, if with these we compare the advantages which we have gotten, in the *shortness* and *security*

of the *passage*, in the *intelligence* of some of our Nation planted by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, yet a live, within fifty mile of our fort, who can open the womb and bowels of this country; as is testified by two of our colony sent out to seek them, who, (though denied by the savages speech with them) found *crosses* and *Letters* the *Characters* and assured Testimonies of *Christians* newly cut in the barks of trees: if we consider the assuredness of the Commodities, *Wines*, *Pitch*, *Soap-ashes* *Timber* for all uses, *Iron*, *steel*, *Copper*, *Dyes*, *Cordage*, *silk-grass*, *Pearl*, which (though discolored and softened by fire, for want of skill in the naturals to pierce them) was found in great abundance in the house of their sepultures.*

* With every werowan or king, is buried all his wealth, for they beleeve that he that dieth richest, liveth in another world happiest.

"If we consider I say, and compare these certainties and truths, as less ends to strengthen and produce our first and principal, with those casual and accidental misadventures and errors, which have befallen us, before every equal and resolved heart, they will vanish and become smoke and air, and not only keep upright but raise our spirits and affections, and reconcile our reasons to our desires.

"If any object the difficulty of keeping that we shall possess; if this discourse could admit a disputation of it, it should easily appear, that our confidence against any enemy, is built upon solid and substantial reason: And to give some taste thereof; Our enemies must be either the Natives or Strangers; Against the first the war would be as easy as the argument. For the second; a few men may dispute the possession of any place wherein they are fortified, where the enemy is so much a stranger, as that he must discover and fight at once; upon all dis-advantages of streights, Fords, and Woods; and where he can never march with horse, nor with ordinance without them; nor can abide to stay many months, when all his releefe must be had from his shipps, which cannot long supply a number competent to besiege. Neither is it possible to block us up, by plant-

ing between us and the sea, the Rivers being so broad, and so many out-lets from them into the Bay. Besides the protection and privilege of subjects to so *Potent* a *King*, whome any wise estate will be wary to affront or provoke.

"We doubt not, but by examination of what is said, our First ends are yet safe, and the ways unto them in no sort so difficult, as should more affright and deter us now, than at the first meditation of them. But if these be not sufficient to satisfy, and encourage, every honest affection we will not so desist; but urge the necessity of a present supply, to redeem the defects, and misadventures of the last: that seeing all the dangers and sicknesses have sprung from *want of effecting our purpose of sending an able Governor:* We have *concluded* and *resolved* to set forth the *Right Honor:* the *Lord de la Warr* by the last of *January*, and to give him all the liberties and priviledges, which we have power to derive upon him, and to furnish him with all necessaries fit for his quality, person, and the business which he shall undergo, and so by God's grace to persist untill we have made perfect our good and happy beginnings.

"If these shall not yet suffice to resolution, that a *Baron* and *Peere* of this Kingdome (whose Honour nor Fortune needs not any desperate medicine) one of so approved courage, temper, and experience, shall expose himself for the common-good to all these hazards and paines which we feare and safely talke of, that sit idle at home; and beare a great part upon his own charge, and revive and quicken the whole by his example, constancy, and resolution?

As a doore turneth upon his hinges, so doth a sluggard upon his bed. Prov. 26. 14.

"If you have no *implicite* faith nor trust in us, that governe this businesse; to whom there must be some advantage granted in our practise, and intelligence (especially in this) above ordinary persons; that we have no will nor intent, to betray our poore country-men, nor to burthen our owne consciences, nor to draw so just scorne and reproach upon our reputations? If our Knowledge and constant persua-

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

sion, of the faithfulnesse and wholesomnesse of this Land, and of the recompense it shall in time bring to this Kingdome, and to every particular member of this *Plantation*, be of no authority? If this seem not to you some argument, that every man returned is desirous to go back to that which they account and call their owne home: and do upon their lives justify, which else they wilfully betray; that if the Government be settled, and a supply of victual for one year sent, so that they may have a seed time and Harvest before them, they will never need nor expect to charge us with more expense for any thing of necessity to man's life; but they will have leasure and power, to retribute with infinite advantage all the cost bestowed upon them: If all these be yet too weake to confirm the doubtfull, or awake the drousie, then let us come nearer, and arise from their *reasons* and *affections* to their *soules* and *consciences*: remember that what was at first but of *conveniency*, and for *Honor* is now become a case of *necessity* and *piety*: let them consider, that they have promised to adventure and not performed it; that they have encouraged and exposed many of *Honorable* birth, and which is of more consequence 600. of our *Bretheren* by our common mother the *Church*, Christians of one *Faith* and one *Baptisme* to a miserable and inevitable death. Let not any man flatter himself, that it concernes not him, for he that forsakes whome he may safely releeve, is as guilty of his death, as he that can swim and forsakes himself by refusing, is of his owne. Let every man looke inward, and disperse that cloud of avarice, which darkeneth his spiritual sight and he will finde there, that when he shall appeare before the *Tribunall of Heaven*, it shall be questioned him what he hath done? Hath he fed and clothed the hungry and naked? It shall be required, what he hath done for the advancement of that Gospell which hath saved him; and for the releefe of his makers Image, whome he was bound to save: O let there be a vertuous *emulation* betweene us and the *Church* of *Rome*, in her owne *Glory*, and *Treas-*

ury of Good Workes! And let us turne all our contentions upon the common enemy of the *Name* of CHRIST. How farre hath *she* sent out her *Apostles* and thorough how *glorious dangers?* How is it become a marke of Honor to her Faith, to have converted Nations, and an obloquie cast upon us, that we having the better Vine, should have worse dressers and husbanders of it?

"*If Piety, Honour, Easinesse, Profit* nor *Conscience* cannot provoke, and excite (for to all these we have applyed our discourse). Then let us turne from *hearts* of *stone* and *Iron*, and pray unto that *mercifull* and *tender God*, who is both easie and glad to be intreated, that it would please him to blesse and water these feeble beginnings, and that as he is wonderfull in all his workes, so to nourish this graine of seed, that it may spread till all people of the earth admire the greatnesse, and seeke the shades and fruite thereof: That by so faint and weake indevors his great Councels may be brought forth, and his secret purposes to light, to our endlesse Comforts and the infinite Glory of his Sacred Name.

"AMEN."

APPENDIX. — "To render a more particular satisfaction and account of our care, in providing to attend the *Right Honourable the Lord de la Warr*, in this concluded and present supply, men of most use and necessity to the *Foundation* of a *Commonwealth;* And to avoyde both the scandall and peril of accepting idle and wicked persons; such as shame, or fear compels into this action; and such as are the weedes and ranknesse of this land; who being the surfet of an able, healthy, and composed body; must needes be the poison of one so tender, feeble, and as yet unformed: And to divulge and declare to all men, what Kinde of persons, as well for their religion and conversations, as Faculties, Arts and Trades, we propose to accept of: — We have thought it convenient to pronounce that for the first provision, we will receive no man that cannot bring or render

some good testimony of his religion to God, and civil manners and behaviour to his neighbour, with whom he hath lived; And for the second, we have set downe in a Table annexed, the proportion, and number we will entertaine in every necessary Arte, upon proofe and assurance, that every man shall be able to performe that which he doth undertake, whereby such as are requisite to us may have knowledge and preparation, to offer themselves, and we shall be ready to give honest entertainment and content, and to recompence with extraordinary reward every fit and industrious person, respectively *to his Paines and quality.*

"*The Table* of such as are required to This *Plantation.*

Foure honest and learned Ministers.
2. *Surgeons.*
2. *Druggists.*
10. *Iron men for the Furnace and Hammer.*
2. *Armorers.*
2. *Gun-Founders.*
6. *Blacksmiths.*
10. *Sawyers.*
6. *Carpenters.*
6. *Ship-wrights.*
6. *Gardeners.*
4. *Turners.*
4. *Brickmakers.*
2. *Tile-makers.*
10. *Fishermen.*
6. *Fowlers.*
4. *Sturgeon dressers and preservers of the Caveary.*
2. *Salt-makers.*
6. *Coopers.*
2. *Coller-makers for draught.*
2. *Plow-wrights.*
4. *Rope-makers.*
6. *Vine-dressers.*
2. *Presse-makers.*
2. *Joyners.*
2. *Sope-ashe men.*
4. *Pitch Boylers.*
2. *Minerall men.*
2. *Planters of Sugar-Cane.*
2. *Silke-dressers.*
2. *Pearle Drillers.*
2. *Bakers.*
2. *Brewers.*
2. *Colliers.*

FINIS."

CXV. A BROADSIDE BY THE COUNCIL.

"A Publication by the Counsell of Virginea, touching the Plantation there.

"Howsoever it came to passe by God's appointment, that governes all things, that the fleete of 8 shippes, lately sent to *Virginea*, by meanes the Admirall, wherein were shipped the chiefe Governours, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers* and Captaine *Newport*, by the tempestuous windes and forcible current, were driven so farre to the Westward, that they could not in so convenient time recover Cape *Henrie*, and the Port in *Virginea*, as by the return of the same fleete to answer the expectation of the adventurers in some measure.

"By occasion whereof, some few of those unruly youths sent thither, (being of most leaud and bad condition) and such as no ground can hold for want of good directions there, were suffered by stealth to get aboard the ships returning thence, and are come for *England* againe, giving out in all places where they come (to colour their own misbehaviour, and the cause of their returne with some pretence) most vile and scandalous reports, both of the Country itselfe, and of the Cariage of the businesse there.

"Which hath also given occasion that sundry false rumours and despightfull speeches have beene devised and given out by men that seeme of better sort, being such as lie at home, and doe gladly take all occasions to cheere themselves with the prevention of happy successe in any action of publike good, disgracing both the actions and actors of such honourable enterprises, as whereof they neither know nor understand the true intents and honest ends.

"Which howsoever (for a time) it may deterre and keepe backe the hands and helpe of many well disposed men, yet men of wisdome and better resolution doe well conceive and know, that these devices infused into the tongues and

heades of such devisors (by the Father of untruths) doe serve for nothing else, but as a cloke to cover the wretched and leaud prancks of the one sort, and the stupidity and backwardnesse of the other, to advance any commendable action that taxeth their purse, and tendeth not wholly to their owne advantage.

"And therefore those of his Maiesties Counsel in this honourable Plantation, the Lords, Knights, gentlemen, and merchants interested therein (rightly considering that as in all other good services (so in this) much losse and detriment may many waies arise and grow to the due meanes and manner of proceeding, which yet no way toucheth nor empeacheth the action itselfe, nor the ends of it, which do still remaine entire and safe upon the same grounds of those manifold Christian duties whereon it was first resolved,) are so farre from yielding or giving way to any hindrance or impeachment of their cheerefull going on, that many of them both honourable and worshipfull have given their hands and subscribed to contribute againe and againe to new supplies if need require.

"And further, they doe instantly prepare and make ready a certain number of good shippes, with all necessaries, for the right honourable Lord *de la Ware*, who intendeth God assisting, to be ready with all expedition to second the foresaid Generals, which we doubt not are long since safely arrived at their wished port in *Virginea*.

"And for that former experience hath too dearely taught, how much and manie waies it hurteth to suffer Parents to disburden themselves of lascivious sonnes, masters of bad servants and wives of ill husbands, and so to clogge the businesse with such an idle crue, as did thrust themselves in the last voiage, that will rather starve for hunger, than lay their hands to labor.

"It is therefore resolved, that no such unnecessary person shall now be accepted, but onely such sufficient, honest and good artificers, as

"*Smiths, Shipwrights, Sturgeon-dressers, Joyners, Car-*

penters, Gardeners, Turners, Coopers, Salt-makers, Iron-men for Furnasse & hammer, Brickmakers, Brick-layers, Minerall-men, Bakers, Gun-founders, Fishermen, Plough-wrights, Brewers, Sawyers, Fowlers, Vine-dressers, Surgeons and *Physitions* for the body, and *learned Divines* to instruct the Colonie, and to teach the Infidels to Worship the true God. Of which so many as will repaire to the house of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Treasurer of the Company to proffer their service in this action, before the number be full, and will put in good sureties to be readie to attend the said honourable Lord in the voyage, shall be entertained with those reasonable and good conditions as shall answere and be agreeable to each man's sufficiency in his severall profession.

"Imprinted at London by Thomas Haveland for William Welby, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Churchyard at the signe of the Swanne. 1610."

CXIV. and CXV. were evidently published about the same time. I am inclined to think that the Broadside was really published before the tract. I only know of one original of this Broadside, and that is No. 122 of the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It has never been reprinted in this country.

CXVI. SOUTHAMPTON TO SALISBURY.

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, JAMES I. VOLUME 50, NUMBER 65.

Henry Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury.

"My Lord: — Upon Wedensday morninge [December 13] I went to New Markett and before the Kinge went to dinner I delivered unto him what I receaved from your Lordship, concerninge &c.

"Your Lordships most assuredly to do you service.

"H. Southampton.

the 15. of December."

To this letter Southampton adds this P. S.: "Talkinge with the King by chance I tould him of the Virginia Squirrills which they say will fly, wherof there are now divers brought into England, and hee presently and very earnestly asked me if none of them was provided for him and whether your Lordship had none for him, sayinge that hee was sure you would gett him one of them. I would not have troubled you with this but that you know so well how hee is affected to these toyes, and with a little enquiry of any of your folkes you may furnish yourself to present him att his comminge to London which will not bee before Wensday next: the monday before to Theobals, and the Saterday before that to Royston."

CXVII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 59.

Copy of a letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain dated December 31, 1609. (Original.)

"Sire. I have reported to Y. M. that two [three?] vessels had come from Virginia, [CXIII.] and that they did not come well satisfied. Since then four[1] others have come, and in a storm the two others have been lost on the French coast, with which I think they will have to be quiet for the present. But now they hasten the Lord de la Ware to take his departure, and they tell me he will do so in a month or a month and a half. And they have assured him, that after him they will send this summer a thousand men.

"In like manner there will sail for Guiana two small vessels with small crews, but I hear that if any of the people which 'Watawales' [Walter Ralegh] left there, should be found, they will send more, because they praise that country very much and say that Gold and Silver are found there, and it is thought that they will take 'Watawales' out of

[1] He has probably been misinformed, as it seems only four returned in all at this time, Argall and three others.

the Tower, that he may go there. May our Lord preserve and guard the Catholic Person of Y. M. as all Christendom needeth. From Highgate, December the last, 1609.

"Don Pedro de Çuñiga."

[Mem. — Henry Hudson had proposed to the Dutch East India Company that he should remain (during the winter 1609–10) in England, and again sail on a northwest voyage from Dartmouth in March, 1610; which proposal was not agreeable to them, and in January, 1610, they ordered him to return to Holland, with the Half Moon and crew as soon as possible. "But when they were going to do so, Henry Hudson and the other Englishmen of the Ship were commanded by government there, not to leave England but to serve their owne Country. . . . and it was then thought probable that the English themselves would send ships to Virginia, to explore the river found by Hudson." — Van Meteren. See also CIX.]

CXVIII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 66.

Copy of an original letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the King of Spain dated at "Iguet," January 28, 1610.

"Sire. Lord de la War with three hundred men and large stores will certainly be sent from here at the beginning of April; and somewhat later one thousand men will go, a fact which shows very clearly the advantages they hope to derive from over there, since with such very great losses as they have suffered, and of which I have informed Y. M., they still show so much courage.

"The two vessels which, as I have reported to Y. M. are going to Guiana, will sail within eight days.

"May our Lord preserve the Catholic Person of Y. M. as all Christendom needeth. From Highgate, January 28, 1610.

"Don Pedro de Çuñiga."

[Mem. — February 2, 1610. W. Folkingham's "Feudigraphia. The Synopsis or Epitome of Surveying methodized. Anatomizing the whole Corps of the Facultie &c. Intimating all the Incidents to Fees and Possessions, &c. Very pertinent to be perused of all those, whom the Right, Revenewe, Estimation, Farming, Occupation. . . . Preparing and Imploying of Arable, Medow, Pasture, and all other Plots doe concerne. And no lesse remarkable for all Under-takers in the Plantation of Ireland or *Virginia*, for all Travailers for Discoveries of forraine Countries, &c. London Printed for Richard Moore &c. 1610." It is dedicated to Lord Compton. The address to the reader is dated from "Helpringham neere to Folkingham the second of Februarie, 1609."

The title conveys a fair idea of the contents of the black letter tract.

February 9, 1610. "Certaine articles and reasons touching a plantation to be made in Newfoundland, exhibited by certain Marchants of London and Bristol, unto the Lords of His Majesty's Privie Counsell, and by them referred to the consideration and reporte of the Master, Wardens and Assistants of The Trinity House.

"It prays for a patent of a small part of the Country never inhabited by Christians."

"The Master and Wardens of The Trinity House made a favourable report thereon."

There were many voyages made to Newfoundland, as the reader knows, which I have not attempted to mention.]

CXIX. MINUTE FROM THE COMMONS JOURNAL.

Commons Journal — 14 February 1609–10. On the question whether Sir George Somers' seat in Parliament would be made vacant by his going to Virginia.

"Sir George Moore in the course of the discussion remarked, "That Sir George Sommers ought not to be re-

moved. No disgrace, but a Grace to be Governour in Virginia."

Chalmers states in his "Political Annals of Virginia," p. 27, that "Sir George Somers being a Member of Parliament, the Commons declared his seat vacant; because by accepting a Colonial office, he was rendered incapable to execute his trust: and this, it should seem was the *first*[1] time that Virginia was noticed in Parliament." He, also, adds in his Appendix, p. 41 (where he cites his authority for the above, as Commons Journal, iv. pp. 2, 3), that "the common law disability, which was declared by this resolution, was not probably adverted to at a subsequent day, when it was enacted by 6. An. c. 7. s. 25, that no governor, or deputy governor, of any of the Plantations, shall be elegible to Parliament."

CXX. CRASHAW'S SERMON.

This sermon was preached February 21, 1609 (O. S.), that is, 1610, and was entered at Stationers' Hall for publication on the 19th of March following. Anderson in his "History of the Colonial Church," under the erroneous impression that it was the first sermon before the Virginia Company, gives extended extracts therefrom. Mr. Neill, in his "Virginia Company of London," 1869, and in his "English Colonization of America," London, 1871, also gives extracts.

Originals are in the library of Congress at Washington, and of Mr. Kalbfleisch of New York.

I have not noted an original for sale in the last ten years. One would probably be worth about $200. CXX. has never been reprinted; it contains about 27,000 words, and of course is too long to be reprinted entire here. It is evidently a very carefully prepared discourse, illustrating the ideas of the ministers of the Church of England, and therefore I give extended extracts from the sermon as published, noting the pages extracted from.

[1] See Biography of Lord Bacon, February 17, 160⅘.

MICHAEL DRAYTON

"A Sermon Preached in London before the right honourable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Maiesties Councell for that Kingdome, and the rest of the adventurers in that plantation. [On the text] [p. 1.]

"Luke. 22 chapter 32 verse. But I have praied for thee, that thy faith faile not: therefore when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren.

"Four places of scripture are abused by the Papists above the rest. First those words of Christ Upon this Rocke I will build my Church: Secondly, his words at his last Supper, This is my bodie: Thirdly, his speech to Peter after his resurrection, Feede my sheep: Lastly, these to Peter afore his passion, I have praied for thee that thy faith faile not. These last Bellarmine likes so well, that ten times he allegeth them in one of his Tomes, and makes them serve not for one, but many purposes." He then has something to say of the Pope and Bellarmine. He next says, "as the body, so the soule stands in need of three sorts of physicke." First purgative, second restorative and thirdly perservative; and he treats of each of these separately. He then divides his text into two parts: first, "Christs Mercy" and second, "Peter's dutie." First dwelling on "Christ's mercy," and not forgetting the Pope and the Papists; and then (still remembering the Papists) on "Peter's duty," and under this head he has much to say of the Virginia enterprise. "Wee here see the cause why no more come in to assist this present purpose of plantation in Virginia, even because the greater part of men are unconverted & unsanctified men, and seeke merely the world and themselves, and no further. They make many excuses, and devise objections; but the fountaine of all is, because they may not have present profit. If other voiages be set afoot, wherein is certaine

Matt. 16.
Matt. 26.
John 21.
[p. 2.]
[p. 3.]
[pp. 3, 4.]
[p. 5.]
[pp. 5 to 15.]
[pp. 15 to 83.]
[p. 18.]
[p. 19.]

and present profit, they run, and make meanes to get in: but this, which is of a more noble and excellent nature, and of higher and worthier ends, because it yeelds not the present profits, it must seeke them, and with much difficultie are some brought in, and many will not at all. Tell them of getting XX. in the C. Oh how they bite at it, oh how it stirres them? But tell them of planting a Church, of converting 10.000. soules to God, they are senselesse as stones: they stirre no more then if men spoke of toies and trifles" etc.

[p. 21.] He speaks on the lawfulness, the excellency and goodness, "and indeed the plaine necessity of this present action for Virginia: the principall ends thereof being the plantation of a Church of English Christians there, and consequently the conversion of the heathen from the divel to God," etc. Dwelling especially on the conversion of the savages.

[p. 25.] "It is not only a lawfull, but a most excellent and holie action, and so necessarie that I hold every man bound" "to assist this voyage in foure things:" "Countenance, Person, Purse, and Prayer." To each of which he has somewhat to say. "I make my conclusion, that the assistance of this businesse is a duty that lies on all men."

[pp. 25–27.]

[p. 28.] "But now (right Honorable and beloved) seeing we are assembled peculiarly for this businesse, even to consecrate this enterprise to the Lord of heaven: and to send away our honorable Governor and his associates and attendants in the name of the Lord; give me leave (not as calling once into question the lawfulnesse of so noble an action, but) for the further cleering of the truth to them that know it not, for the justification of our course against the adversaries of all excellent exploits, for the stopping of the mouthes of the malignant, and for the better satisfaction and encouragement of ourselves, who either in purse or person, or both, are ingaged in the action, to descend a little more particularly into consideration of the true

state here of. All I have to say I will reduce to two heads, namely, to lay downe truly, (first) The discouragements, (and secondly) The encouragements in this businesse."

These he treats under the following headings:

"*First the discouragements*, in this action laid downe and removed." [p. 29.] "*The first discouragement:* Question of the lawfulness," answered,[1] "Christians may trafficke with the heathen." [p. 30.] "We will take from them only that they may spare us. First, their superfluous land. Secondly, their superfluous commodities." "The commodities certainly known to be in Virginia — Timber, Crystall, Masts, Wine, Copper, Iron, Pitch, Tarre, Sopeashes and Sassafras." [p. 31.] "We give to the Savages what they most need. 1. Civilitie for their bodies. 2. Christianitie for their soules." "Religion and the knowledge of the true God." He refers to the sermon of M. Simonds (LXXXVI.), and to the "Sincere declaration" (CXIV.). [p. 32.] "*The second discouragement:* difficulty of plantation." 1. "By distance." answer "How neere Virginia is to England." [p. 33.] "2. For hard passage." answer, "How faire, safe and easie, the passage to Virginia is." "3. The climate." Answers, "The climate in Virginea temperate." [p. 34.] "The true position of Virginea." "Their skins not blacke." [p. 35.] "Our men there complaine not of the climate." "*The third discouragement:* smallness of our beginnings, and povertie of our proceedings." [p. 36.] "For answere, I say, many greater States (then this is like to prove) had as little or lesse beginnings then this hath:" — "Compare Deut. 10. 22. with Exod. 12. 37." "Looke at the beginning of Rome, how poore, how meane, how despised it was; and yet on that base beginning grew to be the Mistresse of the World."

[1] In order to give an idea of the sermon in the most condensed form, I frequently quote the original side-note references to the discourse, and not the discourse proper.

"Oh but those that goe in person are rakte up out of the refuse, and are a number of disordred men, unfit to bring to passe any good action: So indeed say those that lie and slander. But I answere for the generalitie of them that goe, they be such as offer themselves voluntarily, for none are pressed, none are compelled: and be like (for ought that I see) to those are left behind, even of all sorts better and worse. But for many that goe in person, let these objecters know, they be as good as themselves, and it may be, many degrees better. But as for mockers of
[p. 37.] this business, they are worthie no answere:" Yet he continues his answer at length, quoting Nehem.
[p. 38.] 1, 7, 8, chap. 4. 1, 2, ibid. vers. 3, chap. 2. 10,
[p. 39.] chap. 4. 4, 5, etc., 1 Sam. 22. 2. He shows that "God brings to passe great matters on small beginnings." 1. In matters naturall. 2. In matters human. 3. In matters spirituall, "and 4. In matters politike."

[p. 40.] "Objection. We send base and disordered men." Answer. "The basest and worst men trained up in severe discipline, under sharpe lawes, a hard life and much labour, do prove good members of a Commonwealth."

[p. 42.] "Better government and discipline in small then in great States, and in those that are newly settled."

[p. 43.] "*The Fourth discouragement:* ill reports of the countrey, by them that come from thence." "I answere, it is not true, in all, nor in the greater or better part; for many there be and men of worth who have been there, and report so well of it, that they will not be kept from going thither againe, but hold it and call it, their home and habitation, nor can all the pleasures, ease, delights and vanities of England allure them from it. But that some, and it may be many of the vulgar and viler sort, who went thither only for ease and idlenesse, for profit and pleasure, and some such carnall causes, and found contrariwise but cold entertainment, and that they must labour or

else not eate, and be tied within the bounds of sharp laws, and severe discipline; if such base people as these, doe from thence write, and here report, all evill that can be out of that countrie, we doe not marvell, for they do but like themselves, and we have ever found that all noble exploites have been so maligned and misreported by the greater part (which generally is the worse part) of men." He then refers to and dwells upon Numb. chap. 13, verses 3, 32, 33; chap. 14, verses 7, 8, 10, 24, 27, 30, 37. [pp. 44, 45.]

"A comparison of searching of Canaan and Virginia, and of the reports thereof made."—Matth. 12. 34, Rom. 13. 19. [p. 46.]

"*The Fifth discouragement:* miseries of them that goe in person." "Answere 1. No great thing atchieved without induring miseries." "The more excellent because difficult." [p. 47.]

"Answere 2. This objection raiseth from basenesse and cowardize of spirit." [p. 48.]

"The ancient valour and hardnesse of our people." [p. 49.]

"How the Low-Countrie men were altered within these 100 yeares." "A good thing in a state for people to be inured to hardnesse." [p. 50.]

"Answere 3. The miseries and wants that have been sustained, came accidentally by the absence of our governours."[1] [p. 51.]

"And to conclude, seeing it is knowne to all, that know anything in this matter, that the principal (if not the only) wound in this businesse hath beene the want of governement; there is now care taken, that (by the blessing of God) there never shall be want of that againe."

"*The sixth discouragement:* uncertaintie of [p. 52.]

[1] Crashaw continues here, "Which was caused by the hand of God, and force of tempest, which neither humane wit could forsee, nor strength withstand. Or suppose something was miscarried by negligence; haste or other humane infirmitie; shall one staine blemish the beautie of so faire a businesse? Shall one particular miscarriage, overturne the fame, or condemne the substance of the whole action? Surely wisdome and good reason will not admit it."

profit, and the long stay for it." "Answere 1. Profit is the least and last end aimed at in this voyage."

[p. 53.] "Ans. 2. The voiage will be assuredly profitable in short time." "The cause why the profit can-

[p. 54.] not be presently expected, is because that continuall supplies are still to be sent." "The high and principall end being plantation, of an English Church and Common-wealth, and consequently the Conversion of heathen."

[p. 55.] "*The seventh discouragement:* multitude and might of our enemies." "What enemies? they answer first the Spaniard, I answere, deceive not yourselves, we have him not our enemies: for first, he is in league with us. . . . we hope they bee too wise and worthie a nation to breake their league and falsifie the oath

[p. 56.] of God which they have made." He reviews and answers the claims of Spain. "This bull of Pope Alexander the sixth is extant Verbatim amongst the Constitutions of the Popes, set out by Peter Matthew at Lions 1588. and is to be found at page 150."

[p. 57.] "What enemies? The French? Nay they are rather inclined to follow our example, and to plant in another Countrey not far from ours: the same also might I speake of other Christian Nations. The Savages? Nay they invite us," etc. "This enterprize hath only three enemies. 1. The Divell, 2. The Papists, and 3.

[pp. 58–63.] The Players." And to each of these the Rev. Mr. Crashaw pays his respects. "The evill and base reports that have been scattered of this enterprize came originally from some Papists." "As for

[p. 63.] Plaiers: (pardon me right Honourable and beloved, for wronging this place and your patience with so base a subject,), they play with Princes and Potentates, Magistrates and Ministers, nay with God and Religion, and all holy things: nothing that is good, excellent or holy can escape them: how then can this action? But this may suffice, that they are Players: they abuse Virginea,

but they are but Players: they disgrace it: true, but they are but Players, and they have played with better things, and such as for which, if they speedily repent not, I dare say Vengeance waites for them." "The divell hates us, because wee purpose not to suffer Heathens, and the Pope because we have vowed to tolerate no Papists: so doe the Players, because wee resolve to suffer no Idle persons in Virginea, which course if it were taken in England, they know they might turne to new occupations."

II. "The encouragements in this businesse are *three*." [p. 64.]

"*The first Encouragement*, the excellency of the designe, in itself, being, 1. a most lawfull action." [p. 65.] "2. An honorable action, both in regard of the ends and undertakers." [p. 66.] "3. A holy action."

"*The second Encouragement:* The friends of this action." [p. 67.] "1. Friend God himselfe." "Testimonies that God is our friend." [p. 68.] "1st. In our King and Prince." "2nd. In the Undertakers." "3rd. In them that goe in person." [p. 69.] "It is God that moves men to go thither." "4th. In the Savages." [p. 70.] "5th. In the multitude of contributors." "6th. In moving all good men to pray for it." [p. 71.] "2. Friends Gods Angels." [p. 72.] "3. Friend The praiers of Gods Church." [p. 73.] "A comparison of the friends and enemies of this enterprise."

"*The third encouragement* to this businesse is the due consideration of the true ends of this action." [p. 74.] "1. Accidentall ends." "2. True ends. — principall — in regard of the Savages their conversion." [p. 75.] "2. In regard of God." "1st. To appease him, because justly offended." "2nd. To honor him, being by us dishonoured." [p. 76.] "3. In regard of our religion." "4. In regard of ourselves." "5. Ends subordinate." "Hereby we shall honour ourselves and strengthen ourselves by propagating our

owne religion: hereby we shall mightily advance the honourable name of the English nation, the honor whereof we ought every one to seek: hereby we shall mightily inrich our nation, strengthen our navie, fortifie our kingdome, and be lesse beholding to other nations for their commodities: and to conclude, hereby we shall rectifie and reforme many disorders which in this mightie and populous state [p. 77.] are scarce posibly to be reformed without evacuation: and consequentlie when we have atchieved all these ends, we shall eternize our owne names to all ensuing posteritie as being the first beginners of one of the bravest and most excellent exploits that was attempted since the Primitive times of the Church.

"And to adde one word more (but it is of much moment), we shall hereby wipe off the staine that stickes upon our nation since, (either for idlenesse or some other base feares, or foolish conceits) we refused the offer of the West Indies, made unto' us by that famous Christopher Columbus, who upon Englands refusal, tendered it the Prince that now enjoieth them. And thus I have given you a tast of the roiall Encouragements which naturally and infallibly doe attend this blessed businesse: You see the discouragements how base and idle and imaginary they bee; contrariwise, the encouragements how real, solide and substantiall: Now therefore let us all bee exhorted and encouraged to the effectuall prosecution of this enterprise unto the end.

In the time of Henry the Seventh.

The conclusion.

"And you first of all, right honourable and worshipfull of the Counsell, and the rest of the undertakers that live here, by whose wisedome the action is to be directed, and by whose purses maintained, consider what you have entered into, even upon an action of that nature and consequence as not only all nations stand gazing at, but even heaven and hell [p. 78.] have taken notice of it, the holy Angels hoping, and the divells swearing what will be the issue. Therefore let all nations see, to their amazement, the divels

1. To the honorable Counsell & undertakers.

to their terror, the Angels to their joy, and especially Our God to his glorie, and the honor of his truth, that the English Christians will not undertake a publike action which they will not prosecute to perfection. Let us then beleeve no tales, regard no slanders (raised or spred by Papists or Epicures) feare no shadowes, care for no oppositions, respect no losses that may befall, nor bee daunted with any discouragements whatsoever; but goe forward to assist this noble action with countenance and counsell, with men and money, and with continuall supplies, till wee have made our plantation and Colonie able to subsiste of itselfe, and till there be a Church of God established in Virginea, even there where Satans throne is. Thus shall we honour our God, our religion, our Nation, and leave that honour on our names, which shall make them flourish till the worlds end, and (which is all in all) lay up that comfort for our soules which shall stand by us at our deaths, & speake for us to the great Judge at the last and great day.

"And to you (right honourable and beloved) who ingage your lives, and therefore are deepliest interested in this businesse, who make the greatest ventures, and beare the greatest burdens; who leave your ease and pleasures at home, and commit yourselves to the Seas and winds for the good of this enterprise; you that desire to advance the Gospell of Jesus Christ, though it be with the hazard of your lives, goe forward in the name of the God of heaven and earth, the God that keepeth covenant and mercie for thousands; goe on with the blessing of God, Gods Angels and Gods Church; cast away feare, and let nothing daunt your spirits, remembring whom you goe unto, even to the Englishmen your brethren, who have broke the ice before you, and suffered that which with God's blessing you never shall; remembring what you goe to doe, even to display the banner of Christ Jesus, to fight with the divell and the old dragon, having Michael and his Angels on your side: to eternize your owne names both heere at home &

2. To them. that goe in person.

[p. 79.]

Exod. 34. 7.

amongst the Virgineans (whose Apostles you are) and to make yourselves most happy men whether you live or die: if you live, by effecting so glorious a worke; if you die, by dying as Martyrs or Confessors of God's religion: and remembring lastly whom you leave behinde you, even us your brethen, of whom many would goe with you that yet may not, many will follow you in convenient time, and who will now goe with you in our hearts and praiers, and who will second you with New & fresh supplies, & who are resolved (by the grace of that God in whose name they have undertaken it) never to relinquish this action; but though all the wealth already put in were lost, will againe & againe renue and continue their supplies, untill the Lord give the hoped harvest of our endevors.

[p. 80.] "And thou most noble Lord, who God hath stirred up to neglect the pleasure of England, and with Abraham to goe from thy country, and forsake thy kindred and thy fathers house, to goe to a Land which God will shew thee, give me leave to speake the truth: Thy Ancestor many hundred yeeres ago gained great honour to thy house; but by this action thou augmentist it. He tooke a king prisoner in the field in his owne Land: but by the godly managing of this businesse, thou shalt take the divell prisoner in open field, and in his owne kingdome: Nay the Gospell which thou carriest with thee shall binde him in chaines, and his Angels in stronger fetters then iron, and execute upon them the judgement that is written: Yea it shall lead Captivity Captive, and redeeme the soules of men from bondage. And thus thy glory and honour of thy house is more at the last then at the first.

Particular to the honorable Generall.

Genes. 12. 1.

At the battle with the black Prince.

Psal. 149. 8, 9.

"Goe on therefore, and prosper with this thy honor, which indeed is greater then every eie discernes, even such as the present ages shortly will enjoy, and the future admire: Goe forward in the strength of the Lord thy God, and make men-

Admonitions and advices to our Generall and his Company.

tion of his righteousnesse only. Looke not at the gaine, the wealth, the honour, the advancement of thy house that may follow and fall upon thee: but looke at those high and better ends that concerne the Kingdome of God. Remember thou art a Generall of English men, nay a Generall of Christian men; therefore principally looke to religion. You goe to commend it to the heathen, then practice it yourselves: make the name of Christ honourable, not hatefull unto them. Suffer no Papists; [p. 81.] let them not nestle there; nay let the name of the Pope or Poperie be never heard of in Virginea. Take heed of Atheists the Divels Champions: and if thou discover any, make them exemplarie. And (if I may be so bold as to advise) make Atheisme and other blasphemie Capitall, and let that bee the first law made in Virginia. Suffer no Brownists, nor factious Separatists: let them keepe their conventicles elsewhere: let them goe and convert some other Heathen, and let us see if they can constitute such Churches really, the Idaes whereof they have fancied in their branes: and when they have given us any such example, we may then have some cause to follow them. Till then we will take our paterne from their betters. Especially suffer no sinfull, no leaud, no licentious men, none that live not under the obedience of good lawes: and let your lawes be strict, especially against swearing and other prophanenesse. And though vaine swearing by Gods name be the common and crying sinne of England, and no morrall, but a veniall sinne in Popish doctrine, yet know that it is a sinne under which the earth mournes: and your land will flourish if this be repressed. Let the Sabboth be wholly and holily observed, and publike praiers daily frequented, idlenesse eschewed, and mutinies carefully prevented. Be well advised in making lawes: but being made, let them be obeyed, and let none stand for scarre-crowes; for that is the way to make all at last to be contemned. This course taken, and you [p. 82.] shall see those who were to blame at home, will

Jer. 23, 10.

proove praise-worthy in Virginea. And you will teach us in England to know (who almost have forgotten it) what an excellent thing execution of lawes is in a common-wealth. But if you should aime at nothing but your private ends, and neglect religion and God's service, looke for no blessing, nay looke for a curse, though not on the whole action, yet on our attempt; and never thinke that we shall have the honour to effect it. Yet thinke not that our sinne shall hinder the purpose of God: for when this sinfull generation is consumed, God will stirre up our children after us, who will learne by our examble to follow it in more holy manner, and so bring it to that perfection which we for our sinnes and prophanenesse could not doe. But you (right honourable) have otherwise learned Christ, and (we hope) will other-wise practise him, and will declare by your managing of this action the power of that true religion you have learned in England. Thus shall heaven and earth blesse you, and for this heroicall adventure of thy person and state in such a godly cause, the God of heaven will make thy name to bee remembred thorowout all generations: and thousands of people shall honour thy memorie, and give thankes to God for thee while the world endureth.

A salutation on Virginea.

"And thou Virginea, whom though mine eies see not, my heart shall love; how hath God hon-
[p. 83.] oured thee! Thou hast thy name from the worthiest Queene that ever the world had: thou hast thy matter from the greatest King on earth: and thou shall now have thy forme from one of the most glorious Nations under the Sunne, and under the conduct of a Generall of as great and ancient Nobility as ever was ingaged in action of this nature. But this is but a little portion of thy honour: for thy God is coming towards thee, and in the meane time sends to thee, and salutes thee with the best blessing heaven hath, even his blessed Gospell. Looke up therefore, and lift up thy head, for thy redemption draweth nie: and he that was the God of Israel, and is still the God of England, will shortly I doubt not bring it to passe, that men

shall say, Blessed be the Lord God of Virginea; and let all Christian people say. Amen.

"And this salutation doth my soule send thee, O Virginea, even this poore New-yeeres gift, who though I be not worthy to be thine Apostle, yet doe vow and devote myselfe to be in England thy faithfull factor and solicitor, and most desirous to do thee any service in the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour and thine: whom we beseech for his standard amongst you, and that you may once crie for yourselves as we do now for you, Even so come Lord Jesus."

I believe that I have given a fair outline of this sermon. Mr. Grosart says "there is no nobler sermon than this of the period."

"March 19, 1610. Entered at Stationers' Hall (for publication) by Master Welby, under the handes of Master Doctor Mockett, Sir Thomas Smithe and Mr. Warden Water. [Waterson?] A Sermon preached by Master Crashaw intitled a Newe yeres Gifte to Virginia." It was published with the following title: "A Sermon preached in London before the right honorable the Lord La Warre Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginia, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation. At the said Lord Generall his leave taking of England his Native Countrey, and departure for Virginea, Febr. 21. 1609. By W. Crashaw Bachelar of Divinitie, and Preacher at the Temple.

"Wherein both the lawfulnesse of that action is maintained and the necessity thereof is also demonstrated, not so much out of the grounds of Policie, as of Humanity, Equity and Christianity. Taken from his mouth, and published by direction.

"Daniel 12. 3. *They that turne many to righteousnesse, shall shine as the starres for ever and ever.*

"London, Printed for William Welby, and are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard at the Signe of the Swan. 1610.' '

It was dedicated: —

"To The Thrice Honorable, Grave, Religious, The Lords, Knights, Burgesses, now happily assembled in Parliament: L. D.[1] humbly considering the union of their interest in all endeavours for the common good, together with the zealous, costly, care of many of them, to advance the propagation of the Gospell; Doth consecrate this sermon, spoken and published for incouragement of Planters in Virginea."

"To The Printer

"My earnest desire to further the Plantation in Virginea makes me perhaps too bolde with Mr. Crashaw, thus without his leave to publish his Sermon: But the great good I assure myselfe it will doe, shall merit your paines and my pardon.

"You may give it what Title you will: Only let this inclosed Dedication to the Parliament be fairely prefixed, and the Booke for your credit truly printed: to the care whereof I leave you.

"Your friend L. D."

It was printed with the headline "A New-yeeres Gift to Virginea," and at the end were the following texts, viz.: —

GOD TO EUROPE.

The Kingdome of God shall be taken from you* and given to a Nation that shall bring foorth the fruits thereof.

* Too true for the greater part is owerrunne either with Turcism or Poperie.

GOD TO ENGLAND.

But I have praied for thee that thy faith faile not: therefore when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren. Luke 22. 32.

ENGLAND TO GOD.

Lord heere I am: Send me. Esay. 6. 7.

GOD TO VIRGINEA.

Hee that walketh in darknesse, and hath no light, let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God. Esay. 50. 10.

[1] L. D. probably the initials of Lancelot Dawes.

VIRGINEA TO GOD.

God be mercifull to us, and blesse us, and cause the light of thy countenance shine upon us: let thy waies bee knowen upon Earth, and thy saving health among all Nations. Psal. 67. 1, 2.

ENGLAND TO VIRGINEA.

Behold I bring you glad tidings: Unto you is borne a Saviour, even Christ the Lord. Luk. 1.

VIRGINEA TO ENGLAND.

How beautifull are the feet of them that bring glad tidings, and publish salvation! Es. 52. 7.

ENGLAND TO VIRGINEA.

Come children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the feare of the Lord. Psal. 34. 11.

VIRGINIA TO ENGLAND.

Blessed bee hee that commeth to us in the name of the Lord. Psal. 118.

[MEM. — 1610. "February 24th Sir Thomas Roe, a worthy young Knight and right valiant gentleman, set sayle from Plimmouth, for the discovery of Guyana, in a shippe and a pinace, builded at his own and his friends charge."— Howes' Chronicle.

February 26 (N. S.), Poutrincourt sailed from France for Port Royal, New France. A leading purpose of this voyage was the conversion of the natives, some of whom had previously been instructed in the Catholic faith.]

CXXI. LORD DE LA WARR'S COMMISSION.

"Feby 28th. The Lord La Warre had his Pattent sealed by that Company [the Virginia Company] the twenty-eight day of February this yeare. He went accompanied with knights and gentlemen of qualitie." — Howes' Chronicle. It is the first commission to a lord governor and captain-general of an English colony in America, and as such it is a very interesting and valuable document. It has never been printed before.

"The Coppie of the Commission granted to the right honorable Sir Thomas West, Knight, Lord La Warr.

"*To All* unto whome theis presents shall come, We the Lords and others of his Majesties Councell for the Company of Adventurers and Planters of the first Collonie in Virginia, resident in England, and We the Treasurer and Companie of the said Adventurers do send greeting in our Lord God Everlasting. — *Whereas* the King's most royall Majesty, that now is, by his Highnes Letters Pattents under the Great Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the three and twentith day of May now last past, before the date of these presents, hath given unto us his Majesties said Councell full power and authority as well at this present tyme as hereafter from tyme to tyme, to nominate make constitute ordaine and confirme by such name or names, stile or stiles as to us his Majesties said Councell shall seeme good, and likewise to revoke discharge, change and alter all and singular Governors, Officers, and ministers, which have been made, as also, which should be by us his Majesties said Councell there after thought fitt and needfull to be made and used for the Government of the said Collonie and Plantation, and the same at all tymes thereafter to abrogate, revoke or change, not only within the precincts of the said Collonie but also upon the Seas in going and coming to and from the said Collonie, as we the said Councell in our discretions shall thinke to be fittest for the good of the Adventurers and Inhabitants there.

"*And Whereas* his Majestie by his said Letters Pattents hath declared that for divers reasons and considerations him thereunto especially moveing, his will and pleasure is, and by his said letters patents he hath ordained, that immediately from and after such tyme that any Governor, or principall Officer so to be nominated by us his Majesties said Councell for the government of the said Collonie aforesaid, shall arrive in Virginia and give notice unto the Collonie there resident of his Majesties pleasure in this behalf,

the Government, power and authoritie of the President and Councell then to be there established and all Laws and Constitutions by them formerly made shall utterlie cease and be determined, and all officers, Governors and ministers formerlie constituted or apointed shalbe discharged anything in any of his Majesties Letters Pattents concerning the said Plantation contained in anywise to the contrary notwithstanding.

"*And Whereas*, also his said Majestie by his said Letters Pattents hath ordained and graunted that such Governers, officers and ministers as by us his Majesties said Councell shall be constituted and apointed, according to the natures and limitts of their severall offices and place respectivelie should and might from tyme to tyme forever thereafter, within the precincts of Virginia or in the way by the sea thither and from thence, have full and absolute power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardone, governe and Rule, all such the subjects of his Majestie, his heirs and successors in any voyage thither, or that should at any tyme there inhabite in the precincts and Territorie of the said Collonie, as is aforesaid, according to such ordinances, orders, directions, constitutions and Instructions, as by us his Majesties said Councell for the tyme being shalbe established, and in defect thereof in case of necessitie according to the good discrecions of the said Governors and Officers respectively, as well in cases Capitall and Criminall as civill, both Marine and others, so allwaies as the said statutes, ordinances and proceedings as neere as convenientlie maybe, be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government and Policie of this his Majesties Realme of England.

"And Whereas likewise his said Majestie hath by his said Letters Pattents, graunted, declared and ordained that such principall Governors as from tyme to tyme should dulie and lawfullie be authorized and appointed in manner and forme as by the said Letters Pattents be expressed, should in cases of Rebellion and Muteny have power and authoritie to use and exercise Marshall Law in as large and

ample manner and forme as his Majesties Lieftenants in his highnes counties within the Realme of England, have or ought to have, by force of their Commissions of Lieftenancie, as in and by the said Letters Pattents amongst other things in them contained more at large doth and may apeare.

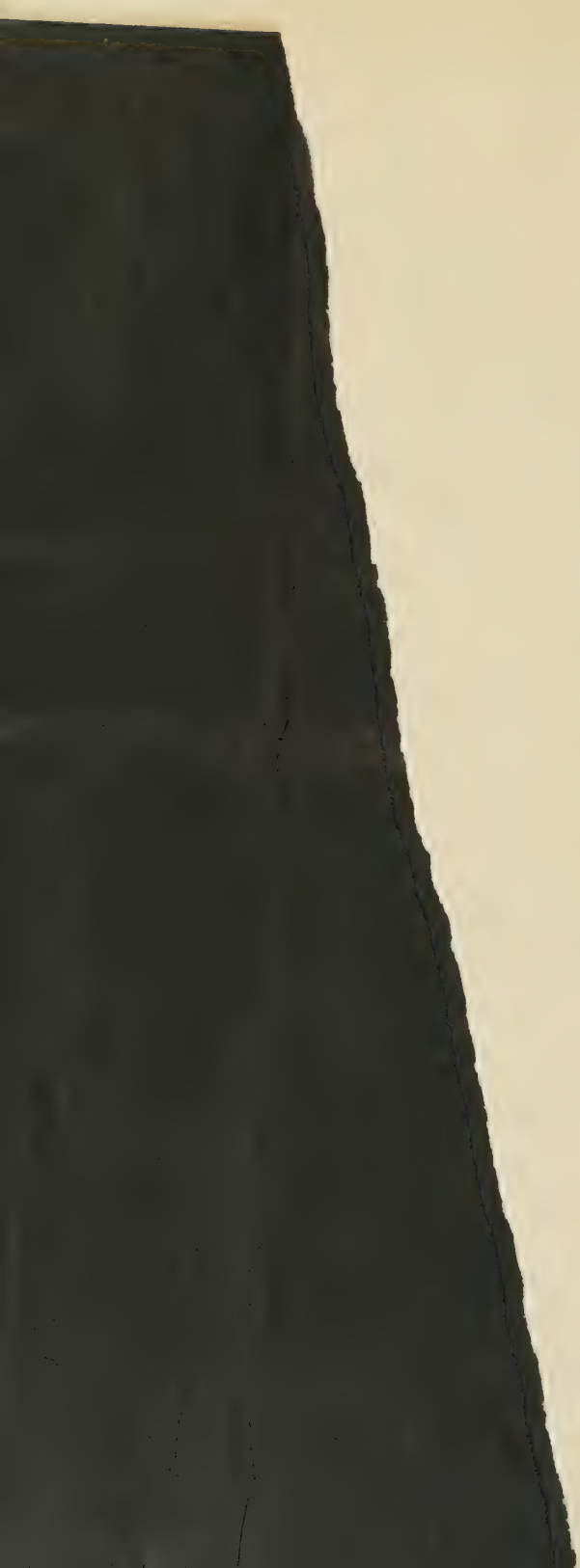
"Now Know yee that We his Majesties said Councell upon good advise and deliberation and upon notice had of the Wisedome, valour, circumspection, and of the virtue and especiall sufficiencie of the *Right Honourable Sir Thomas West, Knight Lord La Warr* to be in principall place of authoritie and Government in the said Collonie, and finding in him the said Lord La Warr propensness and willingness to further and advance the good of the said Plantation, by virtue of the said authoritie unto us given by the said Letters Pattents have nominated, made, ordained and apointed and by these presents do nominate make ordaine and apointe the said Sir Thomas West, Knight Lord La Warr to be principall Governor, Commander and Captain Generall both by Land and Sea over the said Collonie and all other Collonies planted or to be planted in Virginia or within the limitts specified in his Majesties said Letters Pattents and over all persons, Admiralls Vice-Admiralls and other Officers and Commanders whether by sea or land of what quallitie soever for and during the term of his natural life, and do hereby ordaine and declare that he the said Lord La Warr during his life shall be stiled and called by the name and title of *Lord Governor* and *Captain General* of *Virginia* and of the Collonie and Collonies there now planted or to be planted, and do by these presents revoke and change all and all manner of former constitutions, ordinancies, apointments and authorities by us his Majesties said Councell or any of us given, made, nominated, constituted ordained or apointed to any to be President, Chief Governor or principal Officer in Virginia aforesaid or to use or exercise the authority jurisdictions or offices herein limitted graunted or apointed or mentioned to

be graunted or apointed to the said Lord La Warr and of and from the same and everie of them do hereby discharge all and everie persone and persones heretofore authorized, nominated or apointed to use execute or exercise the same or any of them and that the said Lord La Warr, Lord Governor and Captain Generall as is aforesaid in all cases of Rebellion and Mutenie happening or which shall happen, either within the precincts of Virginia limited or specified in his Majesties said Letters Pattents or in the present intended passage and expedition thither, shall have such power and authoritie to use, exercise and put in execution Marshall Law as in the said Letters Pattents is mentioned, and upon all other cases as well Capitall as Criminall and upon all other accidents and occasions there happening, to rule, punish, pardone and governe according to such directions orders and instructions as by his Majesties said Councell, or the greater part thereof here resident in England shall from tyme to tyme, be in that behalf made and given with the consent of Henrie Earle of Southampton, William Earl of Pembroke, Philip Earle of Mountgomerie, Robert Lord Viscount Lisle, Theophilus Lord Howard of Walden, Edmond Lord Sheffield and George Lord Carew, or any two of them, and in defect of such informations he the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall shall and may rule and governe by his owne discretion or by such lawes for the present government as he with such councell as he shall take unto him, or as he the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall shall think fitt to make and establish for the advancement of the publique weale and good of the said Collonie with as full and absolute power authority and commaund as either we by virtue of his Majesties said Letters Pattents have power to derive and graunt to him or as he the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall by his Majesties said Letters Pattents in any sort is authorized to use and exercise.

"And Further Know yee that we his Majesties said Councell by these presents as much as in us lieth do give

and graunt full power and authoritie to the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall, of his free will and pleasure to call unto his assistance and to choose for Councellors such and so many persons of the said Collonie now planted in Virginia or hereafter to be planted there as he shall think fitt and meete, and to displace such from being Councellors whose demerit he shall conceive to give cause thereof. And likewise to place for Councellors and Officers such persons as he from tyme to tyme during his government there shall think fitt. And also at all tymes at his will and pleasure, to discharge, displace and put from the execution of all, every or any such Officer or Officers as he shall think meete, such personns as now be there in office, or which shall hereafter be in any Office in the said Collonie now planted or hereafter to be planted in Virginia during his life as he the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall shall deeme worthie to be displaced or put from any such his office or place, which any such person doth or shall so hould: The Office of Lieftennant Governor, Marshall, Admirall and Vice-Admirall, and all governors of Provinces and Townes which shalbe made or constituted by us, the said Councell resident here in England, allwaies excepted, which said officers and governors so excepted, it shall and may nevertheles be lawfull to and for the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall to suspend and put from the execution of all and everie their said office and offices and governments, and others in their places, offices and governments to constitute and apoint at his pleasure, untill further order shalbe therein taken by us his Majesties said Councell resident here in England. And in like manner we his Majesties said Councell, Treasurer and Companie do by these presents as much as in us lieth, give and graunte full power and authoritie to the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall at his will and pleasure from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter during his life, by or with any office or place in Virginia aforesaid, for increase of any man's person, by bill of adventure for land, onelie not to exceede a four fould proportion of the first rate

First Baron Ellesmere



of his adventure, or of the Office which he shall beare, unless the same be by expresse consent of the said Councell and Companie, here resident, of Virginia and under their Seale, to reward and recompense the good and well deservinge of any person or personns what soever under his Government according as he the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall shall in his wisedome and discretion think such persons to have merited and deserved. To have, hould, use and exercise the stile and title of Lord Governor and Captain Generall of Virginia and all other the jurisdictions, powers and authorities aforesaid, to him the said Sir Thomas West, Knight, Lord La Warr, for and during the tearme of his naturall life, without any revocation or restraint by us the said Councell or any of us in any wise to be made otherwise than before is excepted: —

"And Know yee further that we his Majesties said Councell have made, ordained and constituted and by these presents do make, ordaine and constitute the said Lord La Warr, Admirall of the whole Fleete of such shipps and other vessels as are apointed and by the Grace of God shall be imploied and passe in this present intended expedition to Virginia aforesaid, giving him the said Lord La Warr full power and authoritie to exercise and put in execution in all cases and upon all occasions and accidents, upon all persons passing in the said Fleete full and absolute power, authoritie and command in this behalf as by his Majesties Letters Pattents we or any of us, have power to derive and graunt unto him: And for the more securitie and safetie as well of the said Fleete in their present passage as of the said Collonie and Plantation We his Majesties said Councell by virtue of the authoritie unto us in this behalf given or graunted Do hereby give full power and authoritie to the said Lord La Warr, at all tymes during his naturall life, to encounter, expulse, repell and resist by force of Arms, and by all wayes and meanes whatsoever, all manner of persons that shall at any time either by sea or land, enterprise or attempt the destruction, invasion, hurt, detriment or anoy-

ance of the said Fleete, Collonies, or Plantation. We also hereby and in his Majesties name strictlie command and require, all and everie person and persons now inhabiting or which shall hereafter inhabite within the precincts of the said Collonie, and which shall passe in the said Fleete thitherward, in all things and upon all occasions, to yield unto the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall all due honour and respect, and dulie and willinglie to obey and execute the directions and commands of the said Lord Governor and Captain Generall according to the authoritie to him limited and given, as also to be unto him upon all occasions, to their powers and habilities, aiding and assisting, as they will to their utmost perills answere the contrary.

"And Lastlie We his Majesties said Councell for us, and We the said Treasurer and Companie respectivelie, by these presents as much as in us or any of us lieth or shalbe, do respectivelie promise and graunt to the said Lord La Warr, Lord Governor and Captain Generall of Virginia, that if it shall hereafter apeare to his Lordship that it shall be meet for him to have any other Articles or Clauses to authorise him more then in these premises is mentioned, to rule, governe, do or execute any Act or Acts, thing or things, which may tend to the furtherance or benefite of the said Collonies or Plantations, or the good government thereof, or the rewarding of any persons as aforesaid, that then upon notice thereof and request made by or from his Lordship: to us the said Councell, Treasurer and Companie, and the successors of us the said Councell, Treasurer and Companie, for the tyme being, We his Majesties said Councell, Treasurer and Companie for the tyme being, shall and will, from time to tyme do our utmost Indeavour and as much as in us or any of us lieth, by graunt or otherwise to enlarge the same and to satisfie his Lordships reasonable desire therein. And lastlie, we his Majesties said Councell do condescend and agree, to and with the said Sir Thomas West, Knight, Lord La Warr, that in cases of necessitie, or

upon any other occasion which shall happen, he may withdraw himself from being resident with or in the said Collonie or Collonies in Virginia and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for him the said Lord La Warr, to nominate, make, constitute, depute and apoint, such person or persons as he shall think meet to be his Deputie or Deputies and Lieftennant Governor in his absence to rule and governe the said Collonie and Collonies in Virginia, for, by and during the space of one whole year next after the said Lord La Warr his being absent from the Collonie and his deputing of any person or personns so to be by his Lordship constituted, deputed or apointed, for no longer tyme, unlesse authoritie and further warrant therein shalbe given unto such deputie and deputies by and from us his Majesties said Councell, under our Councell Seale and sent to him as a warrant for his or their continueing Deputie or Deputies or Lieftennant Governor over the said Collonie or Collonies: which Deputie or Deputies so to be made, constituted or apointed by the said Lord La Warr for the space of such whole yere as aforesaid shalbe in the absence of the said Lord La Warr Governor of the said Collonie or Collonies, and shall have such power and authoritie by and with all our consents, agreements and apointments to do and execute all things touching the said Government, as the said Lord La Warr shall unto such Deputie or Deputies, assigne, limitt and appoint.

"In wittness wherof we his Majesties said Councell, apointed by his Majesties Letters Pattents, for so much in these presents as concerneth us and our graunt herein mentioned, by mutuall consent and agreement have sett hereunto our hands and the seale of us the said Councell: And likewise We the said Treasurer and Company for so much in these presents as concerneth us and our graunts herein mentioned, by mutuall consent and agreement have hereunto sett the seale of Our Corporation.

"Given at his Majesties cittie of London aforesaid the 28th day of February in the 7th yere of his Majesties

raigne of England, France and Ireland and of Scotland the 43.

"Southampton.	Pembroke.
Philip, Mountgomerie.	Theophilus Howard.
Edward Cecill.	William Waad.
Walter Cope.	Edward Conoway.
Thomas Smith.	Baptist Hicks.
Dudlie Diggs,	Robart Mansill.
Christopher Brook.	William Romney."

Indorsed: "The Coppye of my Lord De la Wares Commission into Verginia."

"The above was copied by me from an original document in the collection of papers at Longleat in Wilts, belonging to the Marquis of Bath, and forms No. 38, Whitelocke Papers, vol. i.

"John Edward Jackson, F. S. A.
Rector of Leigh Delamere near Chippenham,
and Hon. Canon of Bristol Cathedral.

"28 July, 1886."

" . . . No. 38 is written in a very minute hand; almost requiring a magnifying glass; but as I am accustomed to old writing, I had no difficulty about it. . . .

"John Edward Jackson."

CXXII. VIRGINIA COMMODITIES.

"Instructions for such things as are to be sente from Virginia. 1610.

"1. Small Sassafras rootes to be drawen in the winter and dryed and none to be medled with in the Sommer, and it is worthe £50. and better per Tonne.

"2. Baye berries are to be gathered when they turne blacke, to be layde abroade and dryed and then putt in sackes or Caske, or for wante of bothe to be tourned into the houlde, and is worthe per Tonne £12.

"3. Poccone to be gotten from the Indians and put up in Caske is worthe per Tonne. £100.

"4. Galbrand groweth like fennell in fashion, and there is greatest stoare of it in Warriscoes Country, where they cut walnut tree laste. You must cut it downe in Maye or June, and beinge downe it is to be cut into small peeces, and brused and pressed in your small presses which were sent over for oyle, or any other like presses, the juice thereof is to be saved and put into casks, which wilbe worthe here per Tonne, £100. at leaste.

"5. Sarsapilla is a Roote that runneth within the grounde like unto Licoras, which beareth a small rounde leafe close by the grounde, which beinge founde the Roote is to be pulled up and dryed and bounde up in bundles like Faggotts, this to be done towards the ende of Sommer before the leafe fall from the stalk; and it is worthe here per Tonne, £200.

"6. Wallnutt oyle is worth here £30. per Tonne, and the like is chesnutt oyle and chechinkamyne oyle.

"7. Wyne a hoggeshead or two sower as it is, should be sent for a sample, and some of the grapes packed in Sande.

"8. Silke grasse, accordinge to a Note formerlye given my Lord,[1] should be sent in good quantitye.

"9. Bever codd is likewyse to be cutt and dryed and will yealde here 5s. per lb.

"10. Bever skynnes beinge taken in Winter tyme will yealde good profitt, the like will Otter Skynnes.

"11. Oake and Wallnut tree is best to be cutt in the winter — the oake presentlye to be cleaven into clapboorde; but the wallnut tree to be lett lye.

"12. Pyne trees, or firre trees are to be wounded within a yarde of the grounde, or boare a hole with an Agar the thirde parte into the tree, and let it run into any thing that may receive the same, and that which issues out wilbe Turpentine worthe £18. per Tonne. When the tree beginneth to run softly it is to be stopped up agayne for preserving the tree.

[1] This note not found.

"13. Pitche and Tarre hath been made there, And we doubt not but wilbe agayne, and some sent for a Sample, your owne turnes being first served.

"14. Sturgion which was last sent, came ill conditioned, not beinge well boyled, if it were cut in small peeces, and powdred put up in caske, the heads pickled by themselves, and sente hither it would doe farre better.

"15. Rowes of the said Sturgion make Cavearie according to instructions formerlye given.

"16. Soundes of the said Sturgion will make Isinglasse according to the same instructions. Isinglasse is worthe here £6. 13s. 4d. per 100 pounds, and Cavearie well conditioned is worthe £40. per 100 pounds."

Indorsed: "Virginia Comodities."

CXXII. is No. 23 (pp. 10–11) of Mr. Sainsbury's Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574–1660. It has never been printed before. It was sent by Lord De la Warr to Virginia in MS. Mr. Sainsbury's next No. 24, with the questionable date 1610, is a broadside which was issued by the council in 1621.

CXXIII. ZUÑIGA TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 75.

Copy of an original letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga to the king of Spain, dated "Higete," March 11, 1610.

"SIRE — Within three weeks Lord de la Ware will sail for Virginia. He takes three ships laden with supplies, and also a hundred old soldiers, good people, and a few knights. Two months later four more ships will follow him, with a larger number of people.

"May our Lord guard the Catholic Person of Y. M. as all Christendom needeth. From Higete, March 11. 1610.

"DON PEDRO DE ÇUÑIGA."

[MEM. — Don Alonso de Velasco was appointed by the court of Spain to go ambassador to England in January, 1610. He probably arrived there in April or May. About the same time (January, 1610) Sir John Digby was appointed to represent England at the court of Spain, and he set out for Madrid "about the 20th of March," or "the beginning of April." The marriage between England and Spain had long been dallied with. Both governments were now preparing to play the game more seriously. The foregoing letter (CXXIII.) is the last one which I have as yet found from Zuñiga at this time. Birch says he returned to Spain from his embassy in England about April or May, 1610. However, Velasco seems to have filled his place in England very well. My first letter from Velasco (CXXX.) is dated June $\frac{4}{14}$, 1610.

Most unfortunately I have not been able to find the dispatches of His Majesty, Philip III. king of Spain, for the years 1610 and 1611, and I am very much afraid that these very interesting documents, for those years, are now lost. They were possibly taken from Simancas by Napoleon I., and may be in France.]

CXXIV. MINUTE FROM THE GROCERS' RECORDS.

Court Minutes of the Grocers' Company.

"Die Mercurii iiij Martii 1609 [O. S.]. 7. Jas.

"[Present.]

"Sir Stephen Soame, Sir Thos Middleton *Kts*

"Mr Nicholas Stile, Mr Geo. Bolles. *Alder:*

"Mr Humfrey Walcott, Mr Robert Bowyer and Mr Richard Cocks, *Wardens.*

"Mr Richard Hall, Mr Geo. Holman, Mr John Newman, Mr Hugh Gould, Mr Robt Cox, Mr John West, Mr Giles Parsloe, Mr Richd Pyott, Mr Wm Dale, Mr Richard Aldworth, Mr Robert Sandy, Mr Edmond Pashall, Mr Anthony Soda, Mr Robert Morer and Mr Wm Millett.

. . . . . .

"This daye the demande of M^r . . . Leveson for certen moneys by him supposed to have been promised by this Companye to be payd toward the plantacon in Virginia is respited to be considered at the next Courte of Assistants.

"And it is ordered that M^r Wardens in the meane tyme shall have conference with Sir Humphrey Weld K^t concerning the same."

. . . . . .

[MEM. — April 1, Lord De la Warr sailed from England for Virginia. See CXXXIII. and CXXXIV.

"April 18th Henry Hudson sailed from London in The Discovery, on a voyage for the discovery of the North West Passage set forth by Henry, Earl of Northampton, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, *Thomas* Earl of Suffolk, *Henry*, Earl of Southampton, *William* Lord Cranborne, *Theophilus* Lord Walden, Sirs *Thomas Smythe*, *Robert Mansell*, *Walter Cope*, *Dudley Digges*, and Jas. Lancaster; *Rebecca Lady Romney*, *Francis Jones* alderman, *John Wolstenholme*, *John Eldred*, Robert Sandye, *Wm. Greenwell*, *Nicholas Leate*, *Hewett Stapers*, *Wm. Russell*, *John Merricke*, *Abraham Chamberlain*, Philip Burlamachi, merchants, The Muscovy Company and The East India Company of the sixth voyage."]

CXXV. MINUTE FROM THE GROCERS' RECORDS.

"Court of Assistants of The Grocers Company of London held at their Hall 30. April 1610.

"Present: — Sir Stephen Soame, Sir Humfrey Weld and Sir Tho^s Middelton, K^ts.

M^r Geo. Bolles. Alderman.

M^r Humphrey Walcott, M^r Robert Bowyer, Wardens. —

M^r Richard Hall,	M^r Andrew Bayning,
" George Holman,	" John Newman,
" Hugh Gould,	" Robert Cocks,

Mr John West,
" Richard Pyott,
" Richard Aldworth,
" Thos Nutt,
and Mr Wm. Myllett.

Mr Giles Parsloe,
" William Dale,
" Anthony Soday,
" Robert Morer.

. . . . . .

"It is agreed and ordered by the Court that the moneys which have been collected of divers Brothers of this Companye for and towards the plantacon of his Majesties subjects in Virginia and remayning uppon accompte in the hands of Mr. Wardens with the rest promised to be collected shall by Mr. Wardens, be encreased to an £li [£100.] of the Comen goodes of this House and by them payd over to Sir Thomas Smyth Kt Treasurer of his Majesties Colonyes in Virginia, and to take a Bill of adventure for the same, to the use of this Companye." . . .

CXXVI. MINUTE FROM THE GROCERS' RECORDS.

From the Account Book of the Wardens of the Grocer's Company — Year [July] 1609 — [July] 1610.

Humphrey Wallcott.
Robert Bowyer.
Richard Cocks.
} Wardens.

Under the head, "*More Particular Payments.*"

"Paid to Sir Thomas Smyth Kt The Treasurer of Virginia according to an order of the Courte of 25 April 1610 the sum of £100. for the which a bill of adventure is taken to th' use of this Company." } £li.

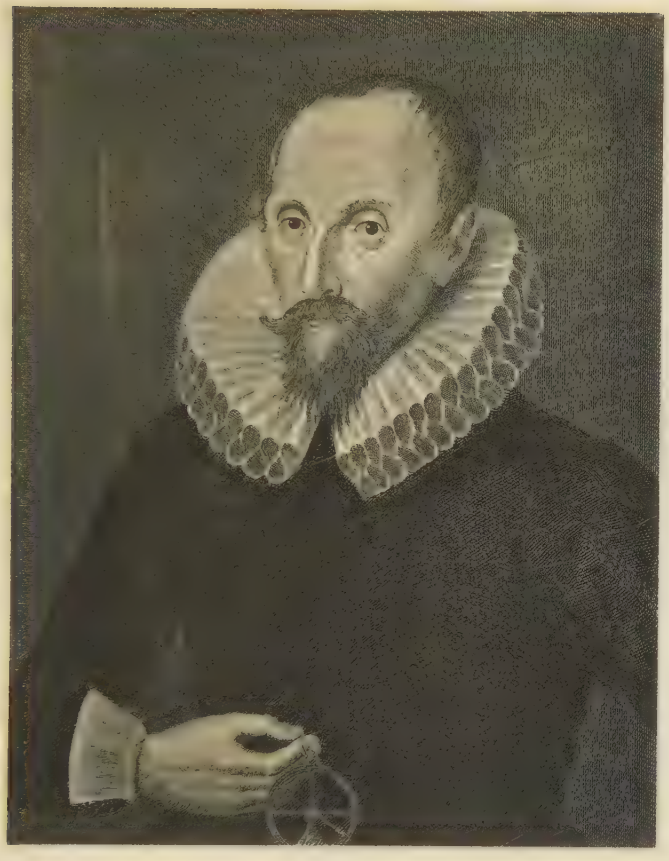
CXXVII. MINUTE FROM THE GROCERS' RECORDS.

Under, "*Casual Receiptes.*"

"Item received of Robert Johnson and Will[m] Besbeche XV£. by them adventured of their own voluntary disposic̄ons for the Plantacon in Virginia which together with other moneys coming to these accomp[ts] handes as parcell of the foote of their sayde predecessors accompte and . . . more of the goodes of this house being there unto added to make it upp one hundred according to an order of the Court of Assistants made the 25[th] day of April laste poste, was by these accomptants payd to the Treasurer of Virginia and a Bill of Adventure for the same taken to th' use of this companye as in the discharge money appeareth." } XV[li].

CXXVIII. NEWFOUNDLAND CHARTER.

"King James granted a patent for establishing a Colony or Colonies, in the Southerne and Easterne parts of Newfound-land, to *Henry Earle of Northampton*, Keeper of the privy-seal, Sir Laurence Tanfield, chief-Baron of the Exchequer, *Sir John Dodridge*, one of our Sergeants at Law, *Sir Francis Bacon*, Sollicitor General, *Sir Daniel Dun*, *Sir Walter Cope*, *Sir Piercivall Willoughby* and Sir John Constable Knights, *John Weld*, Esquire, *William Freeman*, *Ralph Freeman*, John Slany, *Humfrey Slany*, William Turner, Robert Kirkam, gentlemen, John Weld, gentleman, *Richard Fishburne*, John Browne, Humfrey Spencer, *Thomas Juxon*, *John Stokely*, Ellis Crispe, Thomas Alport, Francis Needeham, Wm. Jones, *Tho[s] Langton*, *Philip Gifford*, *John Whittingham*, *Edward Allen*, Rich[d] Bowdler, *Tho[s] Jones*, Simon Stone, John Short, *John Vigars*, *John Juxon*, Rich[d] Hobby, *Rob[t] Alden*, Anthony Have-



JOHN E. DREW

land, Thoˢ Aldworth, William Lewis, John Guy, Richard Hallworthy, John Langton, Humfrey Hooke, Philip Guy, Wm. Meredith, Abram Jenings and John Dowghtie, their Heires and Assignes. . . . Incorporated by the name of The Treasurer and the Company of Adventurers, and Planters of the cities of London and Bristoll for the Colony or Plantation in Newfound-land."

This is Mr. Jefferson's fourth state paper, 1606–16.

[Mem. — Henry IV. of France was assassinated by Ravaillac, May 14, 1610. "The instigators were never publicly known; but the Jesuits incurred violent suspicion, and the House of Commons eagerly improved the opportunity to urge a fresh expulsion of all the individuals of that order from England, and a revival of the severities against recusants. The oath of allegiance was at the same time more rigorously imposed."]

CXXIX. RECEIPT GIVEN TO DOVER.

The original of the following is in the British Museum, Egerton MS. 2087, folio 3: "Payment by the Corporation of Dover for a share in a Venture to Virginia. 1610."

"Whereas the Maior Jurattes and comonaltye of the Towne and Porte of Dover have payde in readye moneye to Sir Thomas Smythe Knight, Treasurer of Virginia the Somme of Twenty-fyve poundes for there adventures towardes the sayd Voyadge. It is agreed that for the same they the said Maior, Juratts and Comonaltye and there successors shall have ratablye accordinge to there adventures there full parte of all suche landes, tenements and hereditaments as shall from tyme to tyme be there recovered, planted and inhabited. And of such mynes and minneralls of golde, silver and other mettalls or Treasure, pearles, precious Stoanes, or anye kind of wares or marchandises, Commodities, or profitts whatsoever which shalbe obteyned, or gotten in the sayd voyage accordinge to the portion of money by them im-

ployed to that use, in as ample manner as anye other adventurer therein shall receyve for the like summe.

"Written this 23d of Maye Anno Dm̄. 1610."

[Seal of the Council of Virginia is still attached.]

CXXX. VELASCO TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 88.

Copy of an original letter of Don Alonso de Velasco to the King of Spain, dated in London, June 14, 1610.

"Sire. — From Virginia there has come to Lyme, a harbour of this Kingdom, a ship[1] of those that remained there lately, and those who arrived in it, report that the Indians hold the English surrounded in the strong place which they had erected there, having killed the larger part of them, and the others were left so entirely without provisions that they thought it impossible to escape, because the survivors eat the dead, and when one of the natives died fighting, they dug him up again, two days afterwards, to be eaten. The swine which they carried there and which commenced to multiply, the Indians killed, and almost all who came in this vessel died from having eaten dogs, cat skins and other vile stuff. Unless they succour them with some provisions in an English ship[2] which they met close to the Azores, they must have perished before this. Thus it looks as if the zeal for this enterprise was cooling off, and it would on that account *be very easy to make an end of it altogether by sending out a few ships to finish what might be left in that place, which is so important for pirates.* and May our Lord preserve the catholic person of Your Majesty as is needed.

"From London, June 14. 1610.

"Don Alonso de Velasco."[3]

[1] Evidently this was the Swallow.

[2] Probably one of Lord De la Warr's ships. See CXXXIII.

[3] He had been appointed ambassador to England in January, 1610. This is the earliest letter of his which I have found.

[MEM. — The Records of the Trinity House state that "an award was given in 1610, by the Master and Wardens of that Corporation, on a dispute between a merchant and the men of a ship arrived from Virginia." This is probably a reference to the Swallow.

"In June, 1610, there was one ship with 20 men and a yeares competent provision for the whole Colony sent to Virginia." This was the Dainty. — Howes' Chronicles, abridged.]

CXXXI. REPORT OF FRANCIS MAGUEL.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 98.

Velasco in his letter of September $\frac{20}{30}$, 1610, says: "On the first of September [August 22, English style] I received Y. M.'s letter of July 21 [or 24 or 26, the last figure is not distinct], with the report which the Irishman made touching Virginia." His Majesty's letter of July 21–26 has not been found, but the following is the report referred to.

Copy of a document indorsed on the outside: "July 1, 1610. Report on Virginia to the [Spanish] council of state."

"Report of What Francisco Maguel, an Irishman, learned *knew* in the State of Virginia, during the eight months that he was there.

"About the Voyage he made and the direction the English took at first in order to discover Virginia.

"1. From England they sail for 'Sancto Domingo,' from there to 'Mevis' and from 'Mevis' to 'San Nicolas,' and from there to 'Puertorico.' From 'Puertorico' they took their route directly towards Virginia, sailing sixteen days towards the North-West 'till they discover a Cape of Virginia, which the English call 'San Nicolas,' which in the opinion of said narrator is about six hundred leagues distant from Puertorico. And all this sea-coast is low-land like 'La Florida' and is free from any danger, and all

along there, close to the shore, there are ten or twelve [fathoms?] deep water and is very convenient for anchoring there. And in all that space there is a sandy beach, or a sandbank eight leagues out from the sea shore, which is covered to the depth of sixteen or eighteen fathoms. This bank begins close to 'la Florida' and continues all the way towards the mountains, until it comes to unite with another bank of 'Terranova' [Newfoundland?]. There is navigation between this Bank and the firm land for some hundred and fifty leagues, on account of the great current which the water has on the other side of said Bank. Between *Within* this Bank and the land there is a tide which runs from S. S. E. to N. N. W. From Cape 'San Nicolas' to Cape Comfort it is *there are* eight leagues. This Cape Comfort is an island which lies at the mouth of a great river on which the English live. This river lies under 37½ degrees. In order to enter this river the vessels that come up have to pass very close to said island, where they find ten fathoms of water. And half a league inside of this island in the river *there is a large and ample bay with twelve fathoms of water, and in it all the ships of England might lie at anchor.* The English had determined to erect a fort on this island, so as to defend the entrance to that river; but the narrator does not know whether it has ever been finished. Twenty leagues up from this island, or this mouth of the river, the English built a well intrenched fort, standing on a point which goes out from the land into the river, and the English determined to cut this point so that the water should surround them on all sides. And in this fort they put twenty pieces of artillery and afterwards they sent there from England much more artillery. This river will be little more than a league wide in most parts, and where it is least deep, it still has three fathoms of water when the tide is low, and in other parts it has ten or twelve fathoms. From this Fort which the English call James Fort the river flows towards the west for twenty leagues more, where the English penetrated in a few pinnaces taking with them some of the natives of the country to show them the way.

"Of the Commodities which the English find in that Country, and of its Climate.

"2. In this country are found many mines of iron and of copper and others, which they took to England, and the English do not wish it to be known what kind of mines there are, until they are first well fortified in Virginia. And of these mines the Narrator brought a sample to England which weighed eighty pounds, and in it he found the weight of three Reales of gold, of five in silver, and of four pounds in Copper. There are many large pearls in that country and a great quantity of coral, and in the mountains they find a few stones which look very much like 'diamants.' And in order to discover more such mines and to examine the products, the King of England sent many skilled workmen, who understand it and also other laborers in all the mechanic Arts to live there. There are found there many varieties of dye stuff, which are sold in England at forty Reales a pound. The English make a very great quantity of soap-ashes, which they send home to their country. There are in those rivers great numbers of salmons [sallos.] and other fish, and such a quantity of Cod-fish and as good as in Newfoundland. There is in that country an infinite supply of deer, peacock, swans and every kind of fowl. There grow in that country wild many forest grapes, of which the English make a wine that resembles much the wine of Alicante, according to the opinion of the narrator who has tasted both. There is also a great quantity of [hanas], chick-pea, maise, almonds, nuts and chesnuts, and above all much flax which grows wild without any cultivation. They have a great abundance of peltry *of for* very rich furs, especially sable-martins, and the King has houses full of them, they being his Treasure. The English draw from there many drugs and things necessary for pharmacy. The land lies very pleasantly and level, and is very fertile with many large rivers; the air is healthy and the temperature about the same as in Spain, altho' the winters are somewhat colder.

"Of the Emperor and the Natives of the Country.

"3. The Emperor of Virginia has sixteen Kings under his dominion; he and all his subjects deal peaceably with the English and attend a market which the English hold daily near the Fort and bring to them there the commodities of the country to exchange them for many little trifles which the English give them, as knives, glass, mirrors, little bells &c. The natives of this country are a robust, well disposed race; and generally go about dressed in very well tanned deer skins as they understand very well how to prepare them. Their arms are bows and arrows. The Emperor sends every year some men by land to West India and to Newfoundland and other countries, to bring him news of what is going on there. And these messengers report that those who are in West India treat the Natives very badly and as slaves, and the English tell them that those people are Spaniards, who are very cruel and evil disposed. The English have some boys there among these people to learn their language, which they already know, at least some of them, perfectly. The Emperor sent one of his sons to England, where they treated him well and returned him once more to his own country, from which the said Emperor and his people derived great contentment thro' the account which he gave of the kind reception and treatment he received in England. The English sent the Emperor a crown of shining Copper and many copper-vessels and silk dresses for himself and for his wives and children. This narrator returned to England in the same vessel with the said son of the Emperor.[1] There they worship the Devil whom they consider their God and say that he often speaks to them, appearing in human form. The Emperor and his sons promised the English that they would

[1] Namontack, to whom the Irishman evidently alludes, sailed for England with Captain Newport April 10, and arrived there May 21, 1608. He returned to Virginia with Newport about July and arrived there about the last of September, 1608. There is really a good deal in the report; but the Irishman was possibly acting as a spy (see Biographies), or more probably seeking a very remunerative employment, and he was evidently not carefully accurate. His statements are mixed. See CLVII.

give up their religion and believe in the God of the English and on account of the great familiarity which they show, it seems that they would be easily converted.

"Of the Designs and Intentions of the English against His Catholic Majesty, as the said Narrator learned when he was in Virginia.

"4. In the first place the natives of Virginia assure the English that they can easily take them to the South-Sea by three routes. The first route on which they will take them is by land, from the head of that river, on which the English have a fort, to the South Sea, as the Natives affirm [is ten days' march]. The second route is, because in a day's march and a half from the head of that river inland, there is another river so long that it falls into the South Sea. The third route is that twelve leagues from the mouth of this river, where the English are, towards the N. W. there are four other rivers, to which there *came* [*went?*] one of those English Captains in a pinnace,[1] who says that one of these rivers is of great importance, and the Natives affirm, that fourteen leagues farther on from these 4 rivers towards the N. W. there is another great river, which flows very far into the country, until it meets another large river, which flows to the South Sea. The English desire nothing else so much as to make themselves Masters of the South Sea in order to secure their share of the riches of the Indies and to cut off the trade of the King of Spain, and to seek new worlds for themselves. With a view to this end: to make themselves Masters of the South Sea they have determined to erect a fort at the end of every days march of these ten days march which lie between the head of their river and the South Sea, to secure themselves on this route. And two other forts on that day's march and a half which lie between the two rivers. This they hope to accomplish in a short time, because they do not intend to fortify them very strongly,

[1] All this is a part of the story with which Captain Smith excited the colony on his return from his captivity in January, 1608. See also the documents carried back to England by Newport in May, and Nelson in July, 1608.

but only so much as would suffice to defend themselves against these savages. Likewise, for this aforesaid purpose the King of England has sent out many carpenters of his Kingdom, who are to build ships, and boats for those seas and rivers, for which they have there the very greatest facilities, since they have there a great abundance of the best timber that can be found, for ship building, and their land abounds in pitch, rosin and tar. Besides there grows wild there much hemp, of which they mean to make cables and ropes for their ships, and having, as they do have, all these facilities for ship building, and with them, as before mentioned, so many iron mines (to work which, as well as to work other metals they have already erected there some machinery) it will be very easy to them to build many ships. And according to themselves — as the narrator heard — if they once have twenty or thirty thousand effective Englishmen settled there, they will be able to do much injury to the King of Spain, much more than France and England can do. The English are much encouraged to make this march to the South Sea by the report of the Natives of Virginia that on the other side of Virginia, close to the South Sea, there is a country, the inhabitants of which wear wide silk dresses for their clothing, and bright colored buskins, that they have much gold and that ships are in the habit of coming to that country, who deal with the natives and get from them both silk and gold. As a proof of this the Virginians showed the English a few knives and other things which they had gotten from those who came in these aforesaid ships, & the English believe these vessels must be Spanish.

"Item: The English in that country have among themselves proclaimed and sworn (allegiance to) the King of England as King of Virginia. *And the anxiety they feel that the secrets of this country shall not become known, is so great that they have issued orders prohibiting any one from taking letters with him beyond the frontiers, and also from sending any, especially to private individuals,*

without their being first seen and read by the Governor. For the same reason they have tried in that Fort of theirs at Jamestown an English Captain, a Catholic, called *Captain 'Tindol,'*[1] because they learned knew that he had tried to get to Spain, in order to reveal to His Majesty all about this country and many plans of the English, which he knew, but which the Narrator does not know. And in conclusion of this it must be observed that now, since they have fully discovered this country, they no longer follow the first route and sailing course, which they took by 'Puerto rico' when they were about to discover Virginia, but that from England *they take their course much more towards the North so as not to fall in with Spanish ships* and also to make the voyage in less time. The same Narrator affirms that he returned from Virginia to England in 31 days, because in coming back the voyage is much shorter than in going out.

"And in proof of the truth of all that has been stated within the said Narrator promises and binds himself to go in person, to serve His Catholic Majesty, by showing to the eye all that he says, if H. M. should be pleased to employ him in this service.

"I, Don Fray Florencio Conryo, Archbishop of Tuam, certify that the said Irishman, the narrator, 'Francisco Miguel,' has sworn in my presence that he has either seen himself, or heard said, or done all that is herein contained, and among the best people of the English, when he was in Virginia, and that all he has said in his own language, is here faithfully translated into the Spanish Language, and for the truth of it he signed it at Madrid, July the first. 1610.

Fr: Florencio Conryo,
Archbishop of Tuam."

[Mem. — Sir Thomas Gates and Captain Newport left Virginia in July, and arrived in England in September, 1610, bringing with them the following: —

[1] This must be Captain Robert Tindall; but as he was in the employ of Henry, Prince of Wales, I doubt his being a Catholic. The Irishman may have gotten him confused with Captain Wingfield.

CXXXII. June 15. Somers to Salisbury.

CXXXIII. July 7. Governor and Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company.

CXXXIV. ——. Lord De la Warr to Salisbury.

CXXXV. July 15. Strachey to "an Excellent Lady."

They brought to England the first news of the wreck of the Sea Venture on the Bermudas, which was regarded, and written of, at the time, as almost a miracle, performed by God in the interest of English colonization, and the advancement of the Protestant religion in the New World.

They also brought many other letters, now probably lost. In one of these Lord De la Warr wrote: "That he will sacrifice himselfe for his countrie in this service, if he may be seconded; and if the Company doe give it over he will yet lay all his fortunes upon the prosecution of the Plantation."]

CXXXII. SOMERS TO SALISBURY.

STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL, JAMES I. VOLUME 1, NUMBER 21.

Indorsed: "Sir George Sommers to my Lord from Virginia. 15. June 1610."

Addressed: "To the Right Honorable the Earle of Salysbarie Lord Treasurer of England, Geve these."

"Right Honorable. May yt please your good honor to bee advertised, that sithence our departure out of England in goinge to Virginia, about some 200 leagues from the Bermooda wee weare taken with a verie greate storme or horrecane, which sundred all the fleete, and on St. James eave, being the 23. of Julie, wee had such a Leake in our ship, i insomuch that thear was in hir 9 feete of water before wee Knewe of any such thinge, wee pumped with ij pumpes and bailed in iij or iiij ur places with certaine Barreekroes and then wee kept 100 men alwaies workinge night and daie from the 23. untill the 28. of the same Julie being Fridaie (at which time) wee sawe the Iland of Bermooda,

[illegible] PETEAL, THE YOUNGER

whare our ship liethe upon a Rocke, a quarter of a mile dystant from the shoare, whare wee saved all our lives, and afterwardes saved much of our goodes, but all our bread was wet and lost: Wee continued in this Iland, from the 28. of Julie untill the 10. of Maie (in which time) wee built ij small Barks, to carie our people to Virginia, which in number weare 140 men and weomen at the cominge to the Iland. Wee departed from the Bermooda the 10. of Maie and arived in Virginia the 23. of the same monethe, and cominge to Cape *Hearic*, [Comfort?] the Captaine thare tould us of the famen that was in James Towne whereupon wee hastened up and found it true: for they had eaten all the quick things that weare there and some of them had eaten snakes or adders: But by the industrie of Our Governor in the Bermooda thear was saved a litell meale: for our allowance would not extende to above one pounde and a halfe for a man a weeke, and [on] this with fishe wee lived 9 moneths — and this allowance our Governor Sir Thomas Gates did allowe them, as wee had with some porke and recovered all saving iij that did die, and weare past recoverie before our cominge. Wee consulted togither what course wear best to be taken for our meanes would not continewe above 14 daies: We thought good to take into our iiij pinaces as much of the munition as wee could, and tooke in all the people and weare goinge down the river but by the waie wee met with the Lord La Ware and Lord Governor which made our heartes very glad and wee presentlie retourned up to James Towne, and theare wee found noe Savages for they weare affraid to come thither, for they did not trade with our men these manie monethes: The trothe is they had nothinge to trade withall but mulberries. Nowe wee are in a good hope to plant and abide there, for heere is a good course taken and a greater care then ever thear was. — I am goinge to the Bermooda for fishe and hogge with ij small Pinaces and am in a good opinion to be back againe before the Indians doe gather their harvest. The Bermooda is the most plentifull place, that ever I came

to, for fishe, Hogges and fowle. Thus wishinge all healthe, with the increase of honor, do humblie take my leave.

"From Virginia the xvth of June 1610.

"Your honors to command.

"George Somers."

"From James Towne in Virginia.

"I have sent your honor a breife of the Iland of Bermooda." [This "breife" is now missing.]

[Mem. — Mr. Neill published CXXXII. in his Virginia Vetusta, pp. 61–63. The above is from a copy made for me. The only important difference between Mr. Neill's copy and mine is in the date. Mine is dated 15th of June, and his the 20th of June.]

CXXXIII. COUNCIL IN VIRGINIA TO THE VIRGINIA COMPANY.

"Letter of the Governor and Council of Virginia to the Virginia Company of London. [Harl. MS. 7009, fol. 58.] [July 7, 1610.]

"Right Honourable and the rest of our very loving friends, —

"We are not ignorant how divers perplext and jealous Eies mae looke out, and keepe more then freindly espiall over this our passive and misconceived business, and now (more especially, haply then at any other time), in these our early dayes, and after the aspersions of so many slanderous and wandering discourses, which have bin scattered by malignant and ill-disposed people against it; for which we have conceived it essentiall with the birth of the worke itself, to give up unto your noble knowledges the truth of the state of the same, and of some consequences most materiall following it, since it tooke protection and fostering from us.

"You shall please then to know, how the first of Aprill 1610, in the good shipp the De-la-Warr, admirall, accom-

panied with The Blessing of Plimmouth, viz-admirall, and the Hercules of Ry, reere-admirall, we weyed from the Cowes, getting out of the Needles, and with a favourable passage, holding consort, the 12th day we fell with the Treseras, and recovered that evening (within three leagues) the Westermost part of St. George's Island, where we lay that night becalmed; but the next morning with the sunrise, did the wind likewise rise, west and west-by-South, a rough and lowde gale, at what time the master of the Reere-admirall told me of a roade fitt for that winde at Gratiosa, whereupon I willed him to go before and I would follow, and so we stood for that roade; but it was my fortune to lead in it, where we came to an ancor at fortie fathom, when it blew so much winde presently that our ancor came home, and we were forced to sea againe, the same time *the Blessing* was compeld to cutt her cable at haulfe, for in the weying of it the pale of her capstan brake, and dangerously hurte 12 of our men; *The Hercules* was likewise forced from the roade, and brake her ancor; yet the next day we met al together againe. The 15th, we lost sight of the Hercules, betweene the Treceras and Gratiosa, and we saw her no more untill the 6th of June, at what time we made land to the Southward of our harbour, The Chesiopiock Bay, where running in towards the shoare, steering away nor-west, before noone we made Cape Henry, bearing nor-west and by West; and that night came to an ancor under the Cape, where we went ashoare, as well to refresh ourselves as to fish, and to sett up a cross upon the pointe (if haply the Hercules might arrive there) to signify our coming in. Whilst we were a fishing, divers Indians came downe from the woods unto us, and with faire intreatye on both sides, I gave unto them of such fish as we tooke, which was good store, and was not unwelcome unto them, for indeed at this time of the yeare they live poore, their corne being but newly putt into the ground, and their old store spent; Oysters and crabbs, and such fish as they take in their weares, is their best releefe. As we were returning aboard

againe, our master descried a sayle close by the pointe at Cape Henry, whereupon I commaunded him to beare up the helme, and we gave it chase, when within an hower or a little more, to our no little [joy], made her to be *The Hercules*, our reere admirall, whome we had now lost . . . weekes and odd dayes; and this night (all praise be to God for it) came to an ancor under Pointe Comfort; from whence the Captaine of the fort, Ca[ptain] James Davies, repaired unto us, and soone had unfolded a strange . . . tion of a double quallitie, mixed both with joy and sorrow. He let us to understand first (because thereof I first inquired) of the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sumers, in 2 pinnisses, with all their company safe from the Bermudas, the 21. of May (about some fortnight before our now coming in), whome, he told us, were now up our river at James Town. I was heartily glad to heare the happines of this newes; but it was seasoned with a following discourse, compound of so many miseries and calamaties (and those in such horrid chaunges and divers formes), as no story, I believe, ever presented the wrath and curse of the eternall offended Majestie in a greater measure. I understood moreover, by reason I saw *the Virginia* to ly then in Roade, before the pointe ridg, and prepared to sett sayle out of the river, how that Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sumers were within a tide or two coming downe againe, purposing to abandon the countrie whilest they had meanes yet lefte to transport them and the whole company to Newfoundland.

"For most true it is, the straunge and unexpected condition and . . . in which Sir Thomas Gates found the colony, gave him to underst[and] never was there more neede of all the powers of Judgement, and . . . knowing, and long exercised vertue, then now to be awak . . . calling upon him to save such whome he found so fo . . . as in redeeming himself and his againe from falling into the . . . ties. For besides that he found the forte unfurnished (and that . . . and many casualties) of so lardge an accompte and number . . . as he expected, and knew came alonge the

last yeare, trained in . . . fleete with himself; so likewise found he as empty and unfurnished a . . . entering the towne, it appeared raither as the ruins of some auntient [for]tification, then that any people living might now in habit it: the pallisadoes he found tourne downe, the portes open, the gates from the hinges, the church ruined and unfrequented, empty howses (whose owners untimely death had taken newly from them) rent up and burnt, the living not hable, as they pretended, to step into the woodes to gather other fire-wood; and, it is true, the *Indian as fast killing without as the famine and pestilence within.* Only the block house (somewhat regarded) was the safetie of the remainder that lived; which yet could not have preserved them now many dayes longer from the watching, subtile, and offended Indian, who (it is most certaine) knew all this their weaknes, and forbare too timely to assault the forte, or hazard themselves in a fruitless war on such whome they were assured in short time would of themselves perish, and being provoked, their desperate condition might draw forth to a valiaunt defence; yet were they so ready and prepared, that such whome they found of our men stragled single beyond the bounds, at any time, of the block house, they would fiercely chardge (for all their pieces), as they did 2. of our people not many dayes before Sir Thomas Gates was come in, and 2. likewise they killed after his arrivall 4. or 5. dayes.

"But that which added most to his sorowe, and not a litle startled him, was the impossibilitie which he conceived (*and conceived truly*) how to amend any one whitt of this. His forces were not of habilitie to revenge upon the Indian, nor his owne supply (now brought from the Bermudas) sufficient to releive his people; for he had brought no greater store of provision (as not jealous that any such disaster could have befalne the Colony) then might well serve 150 for a sea voyage; and at this time of the yeare, neither by force (had his power bin sufficient) nor trade, might have amended these wants, by any help from the Indian: nor

was there any meanes in the forte to take fish, for there was neither a sufficient seine to be found, nor any other convenient netts; and, to saye true, if there had, yet was there not aneye sturgion come into the river.

"All these considered, he then entered into consultation with Sir George Sumers and Capt. Newporte, calling unto the same the gentlemen and Counsaile of the former government, intreating both the one and the other to advise with him, what was to be don: the provision which they both had aboard, both Sir George Sumers and Capt. Newporte, was examined and delivered, how it being rackt to the uttermost, extended not to above 16 dayes, after 2. cakes a day. The gentlemen of the towne (who knew better of the countrie) could not give them any hope, or wayes how to recover oughts from the Indian. It soone then appeared most fitt, by a generall approbation, that to preserve and save all from starving, there could be no readier course thought on, then to abandon the countrie, and accommodating themselves the best that they might in the present pinnasses then in the roade (as, namely, in *The Discovery*, and The *Virginia*, the 2. brought from, and builded at, the Bermudas, the one called *The Deliverance* of about 70 tonn, and the other, *The Patience*, of about 30 tonn), with all speed convenient to make for the New-found-land, where, it being then fishing time, they might meete with many English ships, into which happily, they might disperce most of the Company.

"This consultation taking effect the 7th of June, Sir Thomas Gates having appointed to every pinnass his complement and nomber, and delivered likewise thereunto a proportionable rate of provision, caused every man to repaire aboard; and bycause he would preserve the towne (albeit now to be quitted) unburned, which some intemperate and malitious people threatened, his owne company he caused likewise to be cast ashoare, and was himself the last of them, when, about noon, giving a farewell with a peale of small shott, he sett sayle, and that night, with the tide,

fell down to an island in the river, which our people here call Hogg Island; and the next morning the tide brought them to another island, which they have called Mulberry Island, at what time they discovered my long boat. For I, having understood of the resolution by the aforesaid pinnas, which was some 4. or 5 days come away before, to prepare those at Pointe Comforte, with all expedition I caused the same to be man'd, and in it, with the newes of our arrivall, dispatched my letters by Captaine Edward Brewister to Sir Thomas Gates which, meeting to[gether] before the aforesaid Mulberry Island, the 8th of June aforesaid, upon the receite of our letters, Sir Thomas Gates bore up the helm againe, and that night (the wind favourable) re-landed all his men at the Forte; before which, the 10th of June being Sonday, I brought my shipp, and in the afternoon went ashoare where after a sermon made by Mr Buck, Sir Thomas Gates his preacher, I caused my commission to be read, upon which Sir Thomas Gates delivered up unto me his owne commission, both patents, and the counsell seale: and then I delivered some few wordes unto the Company, laying some blames on them for many vanities and their idlenes, earnestly wishing that I might no more find it so, leaste I should be compeld to drawe the sworde of Justice, to cut of such delinquents, which I had much rather drawe in theire defence, to protect from enemies; heartening them with the knowledge of what store of provisions I had brought for them; and after, not finding as yet in the towne a convenient house, I repaired aboard againe, where the 12th of June, I did constitute and give places of office and chardge to divers Captaines and gentlemen, and elected unto me a counsaile, unto whome I administred an oath of faith, assistance, and secresy; their names were these: Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Lieutenant Gen[eral] Sir George Sumers, Knight, Admiral. Capt George Percy Esq, [and in the Fort Captaine of fifty.] Sir Ferdinando Wenman, Knight, M[aster of the Ordnance] Capt Christopher Newport, [vice-admirall.] William Strachey, Esq. Secretary [and

Recorder.] As likewise I nominated Capt. John Martin, Master of the B[attery] Workes for steele and iron; and Capt George Webb, Serjeant [Major] of the forte; and M^r^ Daniell Tucker and M^r^ Robert Wild, clarkes of the Store.

"Our first care was to advise with our counsaile for the obtaining of such provisions of victualls, for store and quallitie, as the country afforded for our people. It did not appeare unto us that any kind of flesh, deere, or what els, of what kind could be recovered from the Indians, or to be sought in the countrey by us; and our people, together with the Indians (not to friend), had the last winter destroyed and kild up all our hoggs, insomuch as of five or six hundred (as it is supposed), there was not above one sow, that we can heare of, left alive; not a henn nor chick in the forte (and our horses and mares they had eaten with the first); and the provision which we had brought concerning any kind of flesh was little or nothing: whereupon it pleased Sir George Sumers to propose a voyage, which, for the better releife and good of the Colony, he would performe unto the Bermudas, (which, lying in the height of 32 degrees and 20 minutes, 5 degrees from our bay, may be some seve[n] skore leagues from us, or thereabouts; reckoning to every degree that lyes nor-west and westerly, 28 English leagues); and from thence he would fetch 6 monthes provision of flesh and fish, and some live hoggs, of which those islands (by their owne reporte, however, most daungerous to fall with) are marveilous full and well stored; whereupon, well approving and applauding a motion relishing of so faire hopes and much goodnes, we gave him a commission the 15^th^ of June, who, in his owne Bermuda pinnas, *The Patience*, accompanied with Capt Samuell Argall, in the Discovery (whome we sware of our counsaile before his departure), the 19^th^ of June fell with the tide from before our towne, whome we have ever since accompanied with our hearty prayers for his happy and safe returne. And likewise because at our first coming we

found in our owne river no store of fish after many tryalls, we dispatched with instructions the 17. of June, Robert Tindall, master of the De la Warr, to fish unto all along and betweene Cape Henry and Cape Charles within the bay, who the last of the same returned unto us againe; but mett with so small a quantitie and store of fish, as he scarce tooke so much as served the company that he caried forth with him. Nor were we in the meane while idle at the forte, but every day and night we hayled our nett sometimes a dozen times one after another, but it pleased not God so to bless our labours, that we should at any time take one quarter so much as would give unto our people one pound at a meale a peice (by which we might have better husbanded and spared our peas and oatmeale), notwithstanding the greate store we now saw dayly in our river.

"Thus much in briefe concerning our voyage hether, our meeting with Sir Thomas Gates here, and our joynt cares and indeavours since our arrivall: nor shall we be fayling on our parte to do the uttermost that we may for the happy structure and raysing againe of this too much stooped and dejected imployment. It rests that I should now truly deliver unto yee (right honourable and the rest of our good friends) somewhat our opinion, or rather better judgement, which hath observed many things, and those objected cleare to reason, most beni-ficiall concerning this countrie. And first, we have experience, and our owne eyes witnes, how young soever we are to this place, that no countrie yealdeth goodlier corne or more manifold increase, large feildes we have as prospects houerly before us of the same, and those not many miles from our quarter (some whereof, true it is, to quitt the mischeivous Indian, and irreconsilable for his late injuries and murthering of our men, our purpose is to be masters of ere long, and to thresh it out on the flores of our barnes when the time shall serve). Next in every boske and common hedge, and not farr from our pallisado gates, we have thousands of goodly vines running along and leaning to every tree, which yeald a plentifull grape in their

kind, let me appeale, then, to knowledge, if these naturall vines were planted, dressed, and ordered by skilfull vinearoones, whether we might not make a perfect grape and fruitfull vintage in short time? Lastly, we have made triall of our owne English seedes, kitchen hearbes, and rootes, and find them no sooner put into the ground then to prosper as speedily and after the same quallitie as in England.

"Only let me truly acknowledge they are not an hundred or two of deboisht hands, dropt forth by yeare after yeare, with penury and leysure, ill provided for before they come, and worse governed when they are heere, men of such distempered bodies and infected mindes, whome no examples dayly before their eyes, either of goodnes or punishment, can deterr from their habituall impieties, or terrifie from a shamefull death, that must be the carpenters and workers in this so glorious a building.

"But (to delude and mock the bewsiness no longer) as a necessary quantity of provision for a yeare, at least must be carefully sent with men, so likewise must there be the same care for men of quallitie, and paines taking men of artes and practises, chosen out and sent into the bewsiness, and such are in dew time now promised, sett downe in the scedule at the end of our owne approved discourse, which we have intituled '*A True and sincere declaration of the purpose and end of our Plantation begonn in Virginia, &c.*' [CXIV.]

"And these two, such men and such provision are like enough to make good the ends of the ymployment in all the waies both for reputation, search and discovery of the countrie, and the hope of the South Sea, as also to returne by all ships sent hither many commodities well knowne to be heere, if meanes be to prepare them. Where upon give me leave, I beseech yee, further to make inference, that since it hath bin well thought on by yee to provide for the government by changing the authoritie [see remarks on LXVI.] into an absolute command (indeed . . . virtuall

advancement to these like bewsinesses and m . . . company us) of a noble and well instructed leifet[enant] . . . of an industrious admirall, and other knights and gen[tlemen], and officers, each in their severall place of quallitie and implo[yment], if the other two, as I have saide, be taken into dew accompte . . . valewed as the sinewes (as indeed they be) of this action (without which it cannot possible have any faire subsisting, however men have belyed both it and themselves heeretofore) then let no rumor of the poverty of the countrey (as if in the wombe thereof there lay not those ellimentall seedes which could produce as many goodly birthes of plenty and increase, yea, and of better hopes as of any land under the heavens unto whome the sunn is no neerer a neighbor; I say, let no imposture, rumor then, nor any fame of some one or a few more chaunceable interposing by the way or at home, wave any mans faire purposes hetherward, or wrest them to a declininge and falling of from the bewsiness.

"For let them be assured, as of the truth itself, these premises considered, looke what the countrie can afforde, which may, by the quantitie of our men, be safely and conveniently explored, searched, and made practise of, these things shall not be omitted for our part, nor will be by the lievetenant generall to be commaunded; nor our *commaunds receaved (as in former times) with unwillingnes or falcenes*, either in our people's going forth, or in execution, being for each one in his place, whither commaunder, overseer or labourer.

"*For the causes of these idle and restie untowardnes being by the authoritie and unitie of our government removed*, all hands already sett to it; and he that knew not the way to goodnes before, *but cherisht singularitie and faction, now can beate out a path himself of industrie and goodnes for others to trade in*, such, may I well say, is the power of exemplar vertue. Nor would I have it conceived that we would exclude altogether gentlemen, and such whose breeding never knew what a dayes labour

meant, for even to such, this countrie I doubt not but will give likewise excellent satisfaction, especially to the better and stayed spirritts; for he amongst us that cannot digg, use the square, nor practise the ax and chissle, yet he shall find how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of Counsell, and the operation and power of his best breeding and quallitie.

"And thus, right honourable and the rest of our very good friends, assuring yee of our resolution to tarry God's mercy towards us, in continuing for our parte this plantation, I only will intreate yee to stand favourable unto us for a new supply in such matters of the two-fold phisicke, which both the soules and bodies of our poor people heere stand much in neede of; The specialties belonging to the one, the phisitians themselves (whome I hope you will be carefull to send unto us) will bring along with them; the particularities of the other we have sent herein, inclosed unto us by M[r] Doctor Boone [Bohun], whose care and industrie for the preservation of our men's lives (assaulted with straunge fluxes and agues), we have just cause to commend unto your noble favours; nor let it, I beseech yee, be passed over as a motion slight and of no moment to furnish us with these things, so much importuning the strength and health of our people, since we have true experience how many men's lives these phisicke helpes have preserved since our coming in, God so blessing the practise and diligence of our doctor, whose store is nowe growne thereby to so lowe an ebb, as we have not above 3 weekes phisicall provisions, if our men continew still thus visited with the sicknesses of the countrie, of the which every season hath his particular infirmitie reighning in it, as we have it related unto us by the old inhabitants; and since our owne arrivall, have cause to feare it to be true, who have had 150 at a time much afflicted, and I am perswaded had lost the greatest part of them, if we had not brought these helpes with us.

"And so concluding your farther troubles, with this only remembrance, that we have, with the advise of our Coun-

sell, conceived it most fitt to detaine yet a while, for all good occasions, the good shipp the De la Warr, to which we hope yee wil be no whitt gainsaying: We cease with unnecessary relations to provoke yee any farther.

"James Towne. July 7th 1610.

"Tho La Warre. Tho. Gates. Ferd Wenman.
George Percy. William Strachey."

[CXXXIII. has been printed before in this country by Mr. Neill in his "Virginia Company of London," pp. 36–49, and in England by the Hakluyt Society, volume for 1849, xxiii.–xxxvi.]

CXXXIV. DE LA WARR TO SALISBURY.

STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL, JAMES I. VOLUME 1, NUMBER 22.

Indorsed: "Lord De La Warr to my Lord from Virginia. Received in September 1610."

Addressed: "To the right honourable my most worthy and speciall Frend the Earle of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England. Give thes."

"Maie it pleass your good Lordshippe.

"Synnce I Departed from your Ld: I have meet with verie much comfortye; yett mingled with as manie Lamentable accidentes, as ever your eares have binne filled withall and because Sr. Thomas Gates who is the bearer hereof was the first that found our men in miserie, I will leave that relation to him as beinge best able to Informe, and onlie tuche breeflie what myselfe canne Testifie. The first of Aprill I Departed the Cowes in the Ile of Wight with 3. good shippes, and in them an 150 persons to land as Planters in Virginia. The 12. of Aprill I made laund, it being the Trecera Iland, that night the Wynnd came in contrarie and it blewe harde; the next Daie that wee weare forced to seeke out a rodde unbeknownt onto our best marriners and wee fared accordinglie, for 2 of my shippes lost theare

aunkers and spoyled Divers of thear men in seeking to weye them and the annkor of my owne shippe came home, so that I was forced to sea again, so soune as my anker was Downe: the 15 Daie I lost sight of my Rear admirall and I continued beatinge uppe and Downe with the Wynnd contrarie, to meete with our loste shippe but could not bee so happie, the [wind] continued still contrarie so that I was forced to runne to the Southwards to the hight of 28 Degrees of northerlie Latitude, and untill the 27. of Aprill I had not Wynnd to carrie mee forward one my course; but then the wynd came faier, and I went before the wynnd till I came neare the Coaste of Virginia so that tyme if it had not scanted I had recovered the place in lesse than 8 weekes, but I laye beatinge uppon the coaste, that it was neare ten weekes before I made the Lannd; for it was the 5. of June beefore I sawe laund and that night I came to anne annkor at Cape Henrye, having the Blessinge whearin was Sir Ferdinando Wenman in my companie. The next Daie the Wynnd beinge contrarie I was faynne to take the opportunitie of the tide, to turnne uppe the river and a little before noon I discried a sayle comminge in at the poynte and then I presentlie bore up with her when I came to make what shee was I found her to bee my owne consort that had binne missinge neare 8 weekes. The 6. of June I came to an ankor under Cape Comfort where I met with much cold comfort, as if it had not binne accompanyed with the most happie newes of Sir Thomas Gates his arivall it had binne sufficiente to have brooke my hart and to have made mee altogeather unable to have Donne my King or countrey anie service. Sir Thomas Gates likewise being in Despaire of anie present supplie had prepared himselfe and all his companie for England and ment to quite the Countrye; uppon which advertisement I presentlie sent my skife awaie, to give him notice of my arivall, which newes I knew would alter that resolution of his, myselfe with all possible speede followed after, and meet him comminge downe the river havinge shipped the hole companie

and Colonie in two small pinnasses with a determination to staie some tenn Daies at Cape Comfort to expect our Comminge, otherwise to goe for England having but 30 Daies vittualles left him and his houngrie companie, so uppon the tenth of June I landed at James Towne being a verie noysome and unholsome place occasioned much bie the mortallitie and Idlenes of our owne people, so the next Daie I sett the sailors to worke to unlode shippes and the landmen some to cleanse the towne, some to make cole for the forges. I sent fishermen out to provide fish for our men, to save other provision, but those had but ill success. Likewise I Dispached Sir George Sommers backe againe to the Barmudas, the good old gentleman out of his love and zeale not [illegible] motioning, but most cheerfullie and resolutelie undertaking to performe so Dangerous a Voiage and if it please God, he doe safllie return he will store us with hoges. . . . fleshe and fish enoughe to serve the whole colonie this wynter. Thus bie Godes assistance I shall goe forwards Imployinge my best indevors in settlinge and managing these affairs. . . .

"These weare never so weake and so farr out of order as nowe I found them. I make no one question if God restore me to health, and give me a blessinge to my Labours. I shall verie shortlie in some measure recompence the great care and charge the companie hath bine at, and returne something valuable unto the adventurers, who have so nobly began and constantlie seconded these *but as yet unfortunate proseedinges*. I make no question but your Lordship wilbe a favorer and a furtherer hearin unto us and make it your owne cause, synce it is undertaken for God's glorie and our Countries good, to both of which you have been so zealous and so faithful a professor. assuringe your Lordship you shall ever find me readie to execute all your commandementes and to doe you all the faithfull service that liethe in my power."

The whole of this letter [CXXXIV.], I believe, has never been printed before.

CXXXV. LETTER FROM STRACHEY.

"A True reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas: his comming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, under the government of the Lord La Warre, July 15. 1610. written by William Strachy, Esquire."

This was one of the manuscripts preserved by Hakluyt. It was published by Purchas (vol. iv. pp. 1734–1756) in 1625, with the following introductory note: "M. Strachies copious discourse shall feast you with the lively expression of others miseries, and Barmudas happy discovery *in Rhetorickes Full sea and spring tide.*" This long discourse of over 20,000 words, divided into four chapters, is addressed to an "*Excellent Lady,*" without giving her name. The first and second chapters entire and a part of the third were reprinted in 1877, in Lefroy's "Memorials of the Bermudas," vol. i. pp. 21–51. In this work, in two volumes, published by Longmans & Co. in 1877–1879, and in "The Historye of the Bermudaes or Summer Islands," published by the Hakluyt Society in 1882, General Lefroy has collected together much of the early history of the Bermudas.

Professor Tyler, in his "History of American Literature," vol. i. pp. 41–45, gives a few extracts, but I believe the whole letter has never been printed in America. I would like to give it, but it is too long. "The still-vex'd Bermoothes" is mentioned by Shakespeare in "The Tempest," and it is thought by some that the storm of July 24, 1609, inspired that play.

Strachey's first chapter describes "A most dreadfull Tempest (the manifold deaths whereof are here to the life described) their wracke on Bermuda, and the description of those Ilands."

Chapter II. "Actions and Occurrents whiles they continued in the Ilands: Masters Mate Henry Ravens and the Cape Merchant Thomas Whittingham, sail in the long Boat,

as a Barke of Aviso for Virginia with a commission for Capt Peter Win as Lieut Governour of Virginia: Divers mutinies: Two Pinnaces built," etc.

Chapter III. "Their departure from Bermuda [May 10, 1610], and arrivall in Virginia [May 21]: Miseries there, departure [June 7] and returne upon the Lord La Warres arriving. James Towne described."

Chapter IIII. "The Lord La Warres beginnings [June 10] and proceedings in James Towne. Sir Thomas Gates sent into England," etc. Chapters III. and IIII. contain a good deal of the same information given in the letter of July 7 (CXXXIII.) and sometimes in the same words. Strachey gives the names of the following officers, not mentioned in the said letter, viz.: Master Anthony Scot, Lord De la Warr's Ancient (Ensign); "Capt Edward Brewster who hath the command of his Honours owne Company;" Capt. Thomas Lawson, Capt Thomas Holecroft, Capt Samuell Argall, "Capt. George Yardley who commandeth the Lieutenant General's Company," "Master Ralph Hamor and Master Browne, clarkes of the Counsell."

It should be remembered, however, that when this letter was written Strachey had been in Virginia less than two months, and Lord De la Warr only a few days more than one month.

Strachey refers to "The Booke, which the Adventurers have sent hither, intituled 'Advertisements unto the Colony in Virginia.'" I have not found this "Booke," unless it be CXIV., which I think possible, if not probable.

CXXXV. originally contained the Lawes, etc. (CII.); but Purchas has omitted them in his publication.

CXXXVI. VELASCO TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 118.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Alonso de Velasco to the King of Spain, dated London, September 30, 1610.

"SIRE, — On the first of September [*i. e.*, August 22] I received Y. M.'s letter of July 21, with the *report* [CXXXI.] which the Irishman made touching Virginia, and a little later there came here Captain 'Neoporto' in two small vessels,[1] which he made out of his ship in Bermuda, where it broke to pieces. He has secretly reported the misery suffered by those who remain there and said that if Lord de la 'Warca' [Warre] who recently went there as Governor, had delayed three days longer, the island would have been abandoned by the 300 persons who had remained alive out of 700, who had been sent out. In order to encourage the merchants, at whose expense this expedition is undertaken, so that they may persevere in it, he has publicly given out great hopes, and thus they have formed several Companies by which men will be sent out in assistance, and they have determined, that at the end of January of the coming year, three ships shall sail, with men, women and ministers of their religion, and with a full supply of arms and ammunition for all. Thus I have been told by 'Guillermo Monco' [Wm. Monson[2]] whom I consider a trustworthy and very intelligent man, who knows all about this business, as some of the sailors who came over in those small vessels, were servants of his and all the others intimate friends and dependents of his; and the same I have heard from other sources, all of which agree in this. I think this plan might be brought to nought with great facility, if Y. M. were pleased to command that a few ships should be

[1] As to the vessels this is a mistake. Gates and Newport returned with the Blessing and the Hercules.

[2] Sir William Monson, a pensioner of Spain. See Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, i. 215, and ii. 216.

sent to that part of the world, which would drive out the few people that have remained there, and are so threatened by the Indians that they dare not leave the fort they have erected.

"May Our Lord preserve" etc.

CXXXVII. A DISCOVERY OF THE BARMUDAS.

The following tract, and CXXXVIII., were among the first literary fruit of the Bermudas' shipwreck: —

"A Discovery of the Barmudas, Otherwise called the Ile of Divels: By Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captayne Newport, with divers others. Set forth for the love of my Country; and also for the good of the Plantation in Virginia. London, Printed by John Windet, and are to be sold by Roger Barnes, . . . 1610."

Dedicated by Sil. Jourdan, the author, to "Master John Fitz James Esquire one of his Maiesties chiefe Justices of the Peace within the countie of Dorset."

"Good Reader, *this is the first Booke published to the world touching Sommer Ilands; but who shall live to see the last?*"

This little tract was again printed in "A plaine description of the Barmudas" (CCLIX.). It was reprinted in the 1809–12 edition of Hakluyt's works, and by Peter Force in his third volume, Washington, 1844. I suppose there are originals in America; but I do not know of any. It relates to events on the ocean, in the Somers Islands, and Virginia, July 25, 1609, to June 19, 1610.

CXXXVIII.

NEVVES FROM VIRGINIA.

THE LOST FLOCKE TRIUMPHANT;

With the happy Arrival of that famous and worthy knight Sr Thomas Gates: and the well reputed and valient Captaine Mr Christopher Newporte, and others, into Virginia.

With the manner of their distresse in the Iland of Devils (otherwise called Bermoothawes) where they remained 42 weeks, and builded two Pynaces, in which they returned unto Virginia.

---

by R. RICH, GENT., one of the voyage.

LONDON:
Printed by Edw. Allde, and are to be solde by John Wright, at Christ-Church dore. 1610.

The copy in the Huth Collection formerly belonged to Lord Charlemont's library at Dublin, where Halliwell found it in 1864. It was sold in 1865 for £63. A second copy was found in the Drake Library, and sold in 1883 for £93.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

Mr. Kalbfleisch has since bought the Drake copy for £105, and it is, I believe, the only original in America.

It was reprinted by Mr. Neill in 1878, and in the "Magazine of American History," New York, in 1883.

"TO THE READER.

"READER, — how to stile thee I knowe not, perhaps learned, perhaps unlearned; happily captious, happily envious; indeed, what or how to tearme thee I know not, only as I began I will proceede.

"Reader: Thou dost peradventure imagine that I am mercenarie in this busines, and write for money (as your moderne Poets use) hyred by some of those ever to be admired adventurers to flatter the World. No; I disclaim it. I have knowne the voyage, past the danger, seene that honorable work of Virginia, and I thanke God, am arrived here to tell thee what I have seene, don, and past. If thou wilt believe me, so; if not, so too; for I cannot force thee but to thy owne liking. I am a soldier, blunt and plaine, and so is the phrase of my newes; and I protest it is true. If you aske why I put it in verse, I prethee knowe it was onely to feede mine owne humour. I must confesse, that, had I not debarde myselfe of that large scope which to the writing of prose is allowed, I should have much eas'd myselfe, and given thee better content. But I intreat thee to take this as it is, and before many daies expire, *I will promise thee the same worke more at large.*[1]

"I did feare prevention by some of your writers, if they should have gotten but some part of the newes by the tayle, and therefore, though it be rude, let it passe with thy liking, and in so doing I shall like well of thee; but, however, I have not long to stay. If thou wilt be unnaturall to thy countryman, thou maist, — I must not loose my patrymonie. I am for Virginia againe, and so I will bid thee hartily farewell with an honest Verse:

[1] I am inclined to think that this "worke more at large" of which no copy is now known, was entered for publication August 16, 1611.

"As I came hether to see my native land,
To waft me backe, lend me thy gentle hand —

"Thy loving country-man.

"R. R."

"*NEWES FROM VIRGINIA.*

"*Of The happy arrival of That Famous and Worthy Knight, Sir Thomas Gates, and well reputed and Valiante Captaine Newport, into England.*

"It is no idle fabulous tale,
Nor is it fayned newes,
For *Truth* herself is heere arriv'd,
Because you should not muse.
With her both Gates and Newport come,
To tell *Report* doth lye,
Which did divulge into the World,
That they at sea did dye.

"'Tis true that eleaven monthes and more,
These gallant worthy wights
Was in the shippe *Sea-Venture* nam'd,
Deprived Virginia's sight:
And bravely did they glyde the maine
Till Neptune 'gan to frowne,
As if a courser proudly backt
Would Throw his ryder downe.

"The Seas did rage, the windes did blowe,
Distressed were they then;
Their shippe did leake, her tacklings breake,
In daunger were her men,
But heaven was pylotte in this storme,
And to an Iland nere,
Bermoothawes called, conducted them,
Which did abate their feare.

"But yet these worthies forced were
Opprest with weather againe,
To runne their ship between two rockes,
Where she doth still remaine;
And then on shoare, the iland came
Inhabited by hogges,

Some Foule, and tortoyses there were,
They onley had one dogge [1]

"To kill these swyne to yield them foode
That little had to eate,
Their store was spent, and all things scant,
Alas! they wanted meate.
A thousand hogges that dogge [1] did kill,
Their hunger to sustaine,
And with such foode, did in that Ile
Two and forty weekes remaine,

"And there two gallant pynases
Did build of Seader-tree
The brave *Deliverance* one was call'd
Of seaventy tonne was shee,
The other, *Patience* had to name,
Her burthen thirty tonne;
Two only of their men which there,
Pale death did overcome.

"And for the losse of these two soules,
Which were accounted deere,
A sonne and daughter then was borne,
And were baptized there.
The two and forty weekes being past,
They hoyst sayle and away;
Their ships with hogs well freighted were,
Their harts with mickle joy.

"And so to Virginia came,
Where these brave soldiers finde
The English-men opprest with griefs
And discontent in minde;
They seem'd distracted and forlorne
For those two worthies' losse,
Yet at their home returne, they joye'd,
Amongst them some were crosse

"And in the midst of discontent
Came noble De la Ware;
And heard the griefes on either part,
And sett them free from care:

[1] We may safely class this document as *doggerel.*

He comforts them, and cheeres their hearts,
That they abound with joy;
He feedes them full, and feedes their soules,
With God's word every day.

"A discreet counsell he creates
Of men of worthy fame,
That noble Gates, leiftenant was,
The admirall had to name;
The worthy Sir George Somers, Knight,
And others of command,
Maister George Pearcy, which is brother
Unto Northumberland,

"Sir Fardinando Wayneman, Knight,
And others of good fame,
That noble Lord his company
Which to Virginia came,
And landed there his number was
One hundred seaventy; then
Ad to the rest, and they make full
Foure hundred able men.

"Where they unto their labour fall,
As men that mean to thrive;
Let's pray that heaven may blesse them all
And keep them long alive:
Those men that vagrants liv'd with us,
Have there deserved well,
Their governour writes in their praise
As divers letters tel.

"And to the adventurers thus he writes,
Be not dismayed at all,
For scandall cannot doe us wrong,
God will not let us fall.
Let England knowe our willingnesse,
For that our worke is good,
Wee hope to plant a nation,
Where none before hath stood.

"To glorifie the Lord 'tis done,
And to no other end;
He that would crosse so good a worke,
To God can be no friend;

There is no feare of hunger here
For corne much store here growes,
Much fish the gallant rivers yield,
'Tis truth, without suppose.

"Great store of fowle, of venison,
Of Grapes and Mulberries,
Of chesnuts, walnuts and such like
Of fruits and strawberries,
There is indeed no want at all
But some, condicion'd ill,
That wish the worke should not goe on,
With words doe seeme to kill.

"And for an instance of their store,
The noble De la Ware
Hath for a present hither sent,
To testifie his care
In managing so good a worke
Two gallant ships, by name
The *Blessing* and The Hercules
Well fraught, and in the Same

"Two ships, are these commodities
Furres, sturgeon, caviare,
Black walnut-tree, and some deale boards,
With such they laden are;
Some pearle, some wainscot and clap bords,
With some sasafras wood,
And iron promis't for 'tis true
Their mynes are very good.

"Then maugre, scandall, false report
Or any opposition,
Th' adventurers doe thus devulge
To men of good condition,
That he that wants shall have reliefe
Be he of honest minde,
Apparel, coyne, or anything,
To such they will be kinde,

"To such as to Virginia
Do purpose to repaire;
And when that they shall hither come
Each man shall have his share,

Day wages for the laborer,
And for his more content,
A house and garden plot shall have
Besides 'tis' further ment

"That every man shall have a part
And not thereof denied
Of generall profit, as if that he
Twelve pounds, ten shillings paid;
And he that in Virginia
Shall copper coyne receive,
For hyer, or commodities,
And will the country leave

"Upon delivery of such coyne
Unto the Governour,
Shall by exchange, at his returne,
Be by their Treasurer
Paid him in London, at first sight,
No man shall cause to grieve
For tis their generall will and wish
That every man shall live.

"The number of adventurers,
That are for this plantation,
Are full eight hundred worthy men,
Some noble, all of fashion;
Good, discreete, their work is good,
May heaven assist them in their worke,
And thus our newes is done."

CXXXIX. REPORT OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2640.

Copy of a Report of the Spanish Council of State of November 2, 1610, concerning what Don Alonzo de Velasco wrote about Virginia matters.

"SIRE. Don Alonso de Velasco* in one of his letters of the 30th of last September [see Sept. $\frac{20}{30}$, CXXXVI.] which Y. M. has seen, says that he received the *report* [CXXXI.] which was sent to him on Virginia affairs. That soon

afterwards there came Captain 'Neoporto' from those parts in two small vessels which he had built in 'la Vermuda.' That he has secretly reported all the misery, which those suffer, who remain there. That if Lord de la 'Vuarra,' who recently went out there as Governor, had delayed three days longer, the 300 persons who had remained alive there of the 700 who had gone out, would have left the island, and that, in order to encourage the merchants, at whose expense this expedition is undertaken, so that they might persevere in it, he has publicly given out great hopes, and thus they have formed several companies, by which men will be sent out in assistance, and they have determined that at the end of January of the coming year, three ships shall sail, with men, arms and other things. And Don Alonso is of the opinion that this plan might very easily be brought to nought, if Y. M. would be pleased to command that a few ships should be sent to those parts, who might make an end of the few who have been left there and are so hard pressed by the Indians that they dare not leave the fort in which they are now.

"It appears to the Council that this should be communicated to the Council of War, for the part that it may take in this matter, and that it be asked to state what will be right and proper to do, the supply of ships and whatever else may be needful for that purpose, Y. M. will command what shall be done.

"At Madrid. November 2. 1610.

[Here follow four signatures or rubricas.]

"Royall Decree: *It is well.*

[The king's signature.]

CXL. A TRUE DECLARATION.

November 8, entered (at Stationers' Hall for publication) by Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Maurice Barkley, Sir George Coppin, and Master Richard Martin. "A True declaration of the estate of the Colony of Virginia, with a confutacon

of such scandalous reportes as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise. Published by order and direction of the Councell of Virginia." It was "Printed for William Barret and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Paul's Church-yard. 1610."

This tract of about 12,000 words was reprinted by Peter Force, vol. iii., Washington, D. C., 1844.

Mr. Quaritch priced an original in his No. 363 Catalogue (July, 1885) at £120. Originals are preserved in the libraries of Harvard College, John Carter-Brown, and Mr. Kalbfleisch.

A copy was bought for Henry, Earl of Northumberland, in 1610, for six shillings, equivalent to about $7.50 present value. Prints must have been quite a luxury then. The title gives a fair idea of the character of this tract. It was issued in the interest of the enterprise.

[MEM. — I do not know when the Dainty returned from Virginia, but the Spanish ambassador in his letter of March $\frac{12}{22}$, 1611 (CLVII.), mentions the return of a vessel about three months before, which must have been the Dainty. She probably brought the following (CXLI.), which it seems was written about the last of August, 1610, and the large map (CLVIII.), and of course brought other documents now lost forever. She probably reached England about December 12, 1610.]

CXLI. ARGALL'S VOYAGE.

I give the whole of this journal, because I believe it has never been reprinted, and because it is a sample of many particular journals, log-books, etc., which were evidently preserved by the managers of the Virginia enterprises for their guidance and information.

"The Voyage of Captaine Samuel Argal, from James Towne in Virginia, to seeke the Ile of Bermuda, and missing the same, his putting over toward Sagadahoc and Cape

Cod, and so backe againe to James Towne, begun the nineteenth of June, 1610."

A manuscript preserved by Hakluyt and published by Purchas (vol. iv. pp. 1758–1762) in 1625.

"Sir George Summers, being bound for the [p. 1758.] Ile of Bermuda with two Pinnaces, the one called the *Patience*, wherein he sailed himselfe, set saile from James Towne in Virginia, the nineteenth of June 1610. The two and twentieth at noone we came to an anchor at Cape Henry, to take more balast. The weather proved very wet: so wee road under the Cape till two of the clocke, the three and twentieth in the morning. Then we weighed and stood off to sea, the wind at South-West. And till eight of the clocke at night it was all Southerly, and then that shifted to South-West. The Cape then bearing West, about eight leagues off. Then wee stirred away South East. The foure and twentieth at noone I observed the sunne, and found myselfe to bee in thirtie sixe degrees, fortie seven minutes, about twentie leagues off from the Land. From the 24th at noone, to the 25th at noone, 6 leagues E. the wind Southerly, but for the most part it was calme. From the 25th at noone, to the 26th about 6. of the clocke in the morning, the winde was all Southerly, and but little. And then it beganne to blow a fresh gale at W., S-W. So by noone I had sailed 14 leagues E., S-E. pricked. From the 26th at noone, to the 27th at noone, 20 leagues E., S-E. The wind shifting from the W., S-W. Southerly, and so to the East, and the weather faire, but close. From the 27th at noone to the 28th at noone, 26 leagues E., S-E, the wind shifting backe againe from E. to W. Then by mine observation I found the ship to be in 35° 54′. From the 28th at noone, to the 29th at noone 36 leagues E. by S. the wind at W., N-W. Then by my observation I found the ship to be in 35° 30′ pricked. [p. 1759.] From 29th at noone to 30th at noone, 35 leagues E., S-E. The winde shifting betweene W., N-W, and W. S-W., blowing a good fresh gale. Then by my observa-

tion I found the ship to be in 34° 49′ pricked. From 30th of June at none, to 1st July at noone 30 leagues S-E. by E., the winde at West, then I found the ship in 34° pricked. From 1st July at noone to 2nd at noon, 20. leagues E., S-E. southerly, the wind W. then I found the ship to bee in 33° 30′ pricked, the weather very faire. From the 2nd at noone, to the 3rd at foure of the clocke, in the afternoone it was calme, then it beganne to blowe a resonable fresh gale at S-E. so I made account that the ship had driven about sixe leagues in that time East. The sea did set all about the West. From that time to the fourth at noone, 17 leagues E. by N., the wind shifting betweene S-E., and S. S-W, then I found the ship to bee in 33° 40′, the weather continued very faire. From the fourth at noone, to the 5th at none, ten leagues S-E, the wind and weather as before, then I found the ship to be in 33°, 17′ pricked. From 5th at noone to 6th at noone, 8 leagues S-W, then I found the ship to be in 32° 57′ pricked; the wind and weather continued as before, only we had a small showre or two of raine. From 6th at noone, to 7th at noone, 17 leagues E. by N. then I found the ship to be in 33°, the wind and weather as before. From 7th at noone, to 8th at noone, 14 leagues N-E., then I found the ship to be in 33° 32′ the wind and weather continued as before. From 8th at noone

33. degrees 21. minutes.

to 9th at noone, 5 leagues S-E, there I found the ship to be in 33° 21′, the wind at S-W, the weather very faire. From 9th at noone to the 10th at

Calme.

noone, 5 leagues S, the wind westerly; but for the most part it was calme, and the weather very faire. From the tenth at noone, to the eleventh at noone it was calme, and so continued untill nine of the clocke the same night, then it began to blow a reasonable fresh gale at S-E, and continued all that night betweene S-E and S,

33. degrees 30. minutes.

and untill the 12th at noone: by which time I had sailed 15 leagues West southerly: then I found the ship in 33° 30′. From that time to 4. of the clocke the 12th day in the morning 12 leagues W. by N.,

COUNT DE GONDOMAR

the wind all southerly, and then it shifted betweene S. and S-W., then wee tacked about and stood S-E, S-E. by S.: so by noone I had sayled 5 leagues S-E. by E.; then I found the ship in 33° 10′. From 13th at noone, to 14th at noone, 20 leagues S-E. by E., the wind shifting betweene the S-W, and W. S. W., then I found the ship to be in 32° 35′. From 14th at noone, to 15th at noone, 20 leagues S-E, then I found the ship to be in 32°, the wind as before: then we tacked about, and lay N-W, by W. From the 15th at noone, to the 16th at noone, 12 leagues N. by W., the wind shifting betweene S. W. & W., and the weather very stormy, with many sudden gusts of wind and raine.

32 degrees.

"And about sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, being to windward of our Admirall I bare up under his lee: who when I hayled him, told me that he would tack it up no longer, because hee was not able to keepe the sea any longer, for lacke of a road and water: *but that hee would presently steere away N. N. W., to see if he could fetch Cape Cod. Which without delay he put in execution.* His directions I followed: so from the 16th at noone to 17th at noone I had sailed 38 leagues N. N-W: then I found my ship to be in 34° 10′. The 17th and 18th were very wet and stormy, and the winds shifting all points of the Compasse. The 19th about 4. of the clocke in the morning it began to cleere up, and then we had a very stiffe gale between E. and N-E. From 17th at noone, to the 19th at noone, I had sayled 55 leagues N. N-W, then I found the ship to be in 36° 30′. From 19th at noone, to 20th at noone, 35 leagues N-W: then I was in 37° 52′, the weather now was fairer and the wind all easterly. From the 20th at noone, to the 21st at noone, we sayled 20 leagues N. by W., the wind betweene E. and S-E, and the weather very faire: At the sunne setting I observed, and found 13½° of westerly variation, and untill midnight we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and then it

He speakes with the Admirall.

They saile toward Cape Cod.

Westerly variation 13. degrees & a half.

fell calme and rained, and so continued very little wind untill the 22nd at noone, and shifting all the points of the Compasse: yet by mine observation that I made then, I found that the ship had run 25 leagues N., for I found her to be in 40°, 1′, which maketh me thinke that there was some tide or current that did set Northward. Againe, those that had the second watch did say, *That in their watch they did see a race, and that the ship did drive apace to the Northward, when she had not a breath of wind.*

40. degrees, 1. minute

A current setting to the Northward.

[p. 1760.] "From 22nd at noone, untill ten of the clocke at night, we had a fresh gale of wind, betweene E. and S-E, and then it shifted all westerly, and so continued untill two of the clocke the 23rd in the morning: and then it began to be very foggy and but little wind, yet shifting all the points of the Compasse, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it began to cleere up. At 12. of the clocke I observed, and then I found the ship to be in 40° 50′: so from the 22nd at noone to the 23rd at noone I had sayled 20 leagues Northward. From 23d at noone to the 24, at 3. of the clocke in the morning it was calme, and then we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and so it continued untill noon southerly, in which time I had sailed 12 leagues N. And about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had 47. fathoms of water, which water we did find to be changed into a grasse green in the morning, yet we would not heave a lead, because our Admirall was so farre on head of us: who about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone lay by the lee, and fished till I came up to him: and then I fitted myselfe and my boat, and fished untill sixe of the clocke. And then the Admirall fitted his sailes, and stirred away North, whom I followed with all the speed I could. But before seven of the clocke there fell such a myst, that I was faine to shoot off a Peece, which he answered with a Cornet that he

A great Fog.

40. deg. 56. mi.

47. Fathoms water.

Water like unto a greene grasse.

They take fish.

A great fog.

had aboord. So with hallowing and making a noyse one to another all the night we kept company. About two of the clocke, the 25th day in the morning we tooke in all our sailes, and lay at Hull untill five of the clocke: and then finding but small store of fish, we set saile and stirred away North West, to fetch the mayne land to relieve ourselves with wood and water, which we stood in great need of. About two of the clocke in the afternoone we tooke in all our sailes and lay at Hull, at which time I heaved the lead three times together, and had three sundry kindes of soundings. The first a blacke peppery sande, full of peble stones. The second blacke peppery, and no stones: the third blacke peppery, and two or three stones. From the 24th at noone, to the 25th, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, I sayled 13 leagues W. N-W.: and the weather continuing very foggy, thicke, and rainy, about five of the clocke it began to cease, and then we began to fish, and so continued untill seven of the clocke in betweene 30 and 40 fathoms, and then we could fish no longer. So having gotten betweene 20 and 30. Cods we left for that night: and at five of the clocke, the 26th in the morning we began to fish againe, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it would fish no longer: in which time we had taken neere one hundred Cods, and a couple of Hollybuts. All this while wee had betweene 30 and 40. fathoms water: before one of the clocke in the afternoone we found the ship driven into one hundred and twenty fathoms, and soft blacke Ose. Then Sir George Somers sent me word that he would set saile, and stand in for the River of Sagadahoc; whose directions I followed. Before two of the clocke we set saile, and stirred away N-W. by N., the wind S. S-W., aad the weather continued very foggy. About eight of the clocke, wee tooke in all our sailes, and lay at Hull al that night. The 27th, about seven of the clocke in the morning we heaved the lead, and had no ground in 120 fathoms.

Sounding.

Great Fog and raine.

100. Cods taken.

The ship driveth.

They stand for the River of Sagadahoc.

Then I shot off a Peece, but could not heare none answere from our Admirall: and the weather was so thicke, that we could not see a Cables length from our ship. Betweene nine and ten of the clock we did thinke that we did heare a Peece of Ordnance to Windward: which made me suppose our Admirall had set saile, and that it was a warning piece from him. So I set sayle and stood close by the wind, and kept an hollowing and a noise to try whether I could find him againe: the wind was at S-W., and I stood away W. N-W. From the 26th, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, to 8. of the clocke at night I had sayled nine leagues N-W. The 27th at noone I heaved the lead, in 120 fathoms, and had no ground. Then I stirred away N. W., till foure of the clocke at night: then I heaved the Lead again 120. fathoms, and had no ground. Then I tooke all my sailes and lay at Hull, and I had sayled seven leagues N-W. The 28th, at seven of the clocke in the morning I did sound in 120 fathoms, and had no ground. Then I set sayle againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At noone I heaved in 120 fathoms againe, and had no ground. So I steered on my course still, the wind shifted betweene S. and S-W., and the fog continued. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, I heaved 120. fathoms againe and had no ground: so I stood on untill eight of the clocke, by which time I had sailed 12 leagues: then I heaved the Lead againe, and had blacke Ose, and 135 fathoms water. Then I tooke in all my sayles and lay at hull untill the 29th at five of the clocke in the morning. Then I set saile againe, and steered away N., and N. by W. At eight of the clocke I heaved the Lead again, and had blacke Ose, in 130 fathoms water. Betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke it began to thunder, but the fogge continued *not* [?] still. About two of the clocke in the afternoone, I went out with my Boat myselfe and heaved the Lead, and had blacke Ose in 90 fathoms water: by which time I had sailed six leagues North by West more.

Verie foggie weather.

The thick fog continueth.

The fog continued.

The fog continueth.

Then I tooke in all my sayles saving my Fore-course and Bonnet, and stood in with those sailes onely.

"About sixe of the clocke I sounded againe, [p. 1761.] and then I had 65. fathoms water. As soone as I came aboord it cleered up, and then I saw a small Iland, which bare North about two leagues off; whereupon I stood in untill eight of the clocke: And then I stood off againe untill two of the clocke in the morning the 30th day. Then I stood in againe and about eight of the clocke I was faire aboord the Iland. Then I manned my Boat and went on shoare, where I found great store of Seales: And I killed three Seales with my hanger. This Iland is not halfe a mile about, and nothing but a Rocke, which seemed to be very rich Marble stone. And a South South-West Moon maketh a full sea. About ten of the clocke I came aboord againe, with some wood that I had found upon the Iland, for there had beene some folkes that had made fiers there. Then I stood over to another Iland that did beare North off me about three leagues; this small rockie Iland lyeth in forty-foure degrees. About seven of the clocke that night I came to an anchor among many Ilands in eight fathoms water: and upon one of these Ilands I fitted myselfe with wood and Water, and Balast.

A Rocke of Marble halfe a mile about full of Seales.

The smal rocky Iland lieth in 44. degrees.

Many Ilands in eight fathoms of water.

"The third day of August, being fitted to put to Sea againe, I caused the Master of the Ship to open the boxe wherein my commission was, to see what directions I had, and for what place I was bound to shape my course. Then I tried whether there were any fish there or not, and I found reasonable good store there; so I stayed there fishing till the 12th of August: and then finding that the fishing did faile, I thought good to returne to the Iland where I had killed the Seales, to see whether I could get any store of them or not; for I did find that they were very nourishing meate, and a great reliefe to my men, and that they would be very well saved

August 3.

Resonable store of fish.

with salt to keepe a long time. But when I came thither I could not by any meanes catch any. The 14th at noone I observed the Sun, and found the Iland to lie in 43, degrees 40 minutes. Then I shaped my course for Cape Cod, to see whether I could get any fish there or not: so by the fifteenth that noone, I had sailed 32 leagues S-W., the wind for the most part was betweene N-W. and N. From the 15th at noone, to the 16th at noone I ran 20. leagues S., the wind shifting betweene W. and S-W. And then I sounded and had ground in 18. fathoms water, full of shels and peble stones of divers colours, some greene, and some blewish, some like diamants, and some speckled. Then I tooke in all my sayles, and set all my company to fishing, and fished till eight of the clocke that night; and finding but little fish there, I set sayle againe, and by the 17th at noone I had sayled ten leagues West by North, the wind shifting betweene S. and S-W. From noone, till sixe of the clocke at night, four leagues North-West, the wind shifting betweene W. and S-W. Then it did blow so hard that I tooke in all my sayles, and lay at hull all that night, untill five of the clock the 18th in the morning; and then I set saile againe, and by noone I had sailed foure leagues N-W., the wind betweene W. and S-W. From the 18th at noone to the 19th at noone ten leagues W. by W., the wind shifting betweene S. and S-W., and the weather very thick and foggy. About seven of the clocke at night the fogge began to breake away, and the wind did shift westerly, and by midnight it was shifted to the North, and there it did blow very hard untill the 20th at noone: but the weather was very cleere, and then by my observation I found the ship to bee in the latitude of forty one degrees, forty foure minutes, and I had sailed 20. leagues S-W. by W., from the 19th at noone to the 20th at noone. About two of the clocke in the afternoone I did see an Hed-land, which did beare off me South-West about foure leagues: so I stereed with it,

Seale Rock in 43. deg. 41. mi.

He returneth home.

Thick and foggie weather.

41. deg. 44. mi.

Cape Cod.

taking it to bee Cape Cod; and by foure of the clocke I was fallen among so many shoales, that it was five of the clocke the next day in the morning before I could get cleere of them, it is a very dangerous place to fall withall: for the shoales lie at the least ten leagues off from the Land; and I had upon one of them but one fathom and an halfe water, and my Barke did draw seven foot. This Land lyeth S-W, and North-East, and the shoales lie off from it S and S. by W., and so along toward the North. At the N-W. by W. Guards I observed the North-Starre, and found the ship to be in the latitude of forty one degrees fiftie minutes, being then in the middle of the sholdes: and I did finde thirteene degrees of westerly variation then likewise. Thus finding the place not to be for my turne, as soon as I was cleere of these dangers, I thought it fit to returne to *James* Towne in *Virginia*, to the Lord *De-lawarre*, my Lord Governour, and there to attend his command: so I shaped my course for that place. And the 21st by noone I had brought myselfe S. S-W., 33 leagues from this Cape: and I had the wind shifting all this while betweene N. and N-W., and the weather very faire and cleere. From 21st at noone to 22nd at noone I ran thirtie leagues S-W. by West, and then by mine observation I found the ship to be in thirty nine degrees, thirtie-sixe minutes: and I had twelve degrees westerly variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and N-E., and the weather very faire and cleere. From 22nd at noone, to 23rd at noone, nine leagues S-W. by W.; and then by observation I did find the ship in thirty-nine degrees, twentie foure minutes, and I had eleven degrees of westerly variation: and there did blow but very little wind, and shifting betweene West and North, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the 23rd at noone to the 24th at noone 18 leagues S-W., and then I found the shippe to be in thirtie eight degrees fortie two minutes: and I had twelve de-

The sholdes of Cape Cod.

The middle of the sholdes in 41 deg. 50. mi.

15. degrees of westerly Variation.

12. degrees of westerly Variation.

11. degrees of westerly Variation.

[p. 1762.]

12. degrees of Westerly Variation.

grees of Westerly Variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and West, and the weather very faire.

"From the 24th at noone, to the 25th at noone 22 leagues W. by S., the wind shifting betweene North and East. And then I found the ship to bee in thirtie eight degrees, five and twentie minutes, and the same Variation that I had before, and the weather very faire.

"From the 25th at noone, to the 26th at noone, 25 leagues Westerly, the wind all shifting betweene South and South-West. And I had thirteene degrees five and twentie minutes of Westerly Variation. About sixe of the clocke at night the water was changed, and then I sounded and had red sandie ground in twelve fathomes water about twelve leagues from the shore.

13. deg. 25. mi. of Westerly Variation.

"The seven and twentieth by day in the morning I was faire aboord the shore, and by nine of the clocke I came to an Anchor in nine fathomes in a very great Bay, where I found great store of people which were very kind, and promised me that the next day in the morning they would bring me great store of corne. But about nine of the clocke that night the winde shifted from S-W. to E. N-E. so I weighed presently, and shaped my course to Cape Charles. This Bay lyeth in Westerly thirtie leagues. And the Souther Cape of it lyeth South South-East and North North-West, and in thirtie eight degrees twentie minutes of Northerly Latitude.

"The 28th day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone I fell among a great many of shoales, about twelve leagues to the Southward of Cape La Warre. So there I came to an Anchor in three fathomes water, the winde beeing then all Easterly, and rode there all that Night.

Many shoales. 12. leagues to the south of Cape La Warre.

"The nine and twentieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind being all Southerly, and turned untill night, and then I came to an Anchor in seven fathoms water in the offing to Sea.

"How the tyde did set there, or whether that there did

run any current or not, I cannot say; but I could find neither current nor tyde.

"The thirtieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind still southerly, and turned all that day, but got very little, so at Evening I stood off to sea untill midnight, and then stood in againe.

"The one and thirtieth, about seven of the clocke at night I came to an Anchor under Cape Charles in foure fathomes, and one third part water, and rode there all that night." Cape Charles.

[This seems to me to end very abruptly, and I suppose Purchas has omitted the latter part.]

CXLII. A BROADSIDE BY THE COUNCIL.

This broadside is "without any date what soever," but it was circulated about this time (December, 1610). It is No. 128 of the "Catalogue of Broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries of London," and I know of no other original.

"By the Counsell of Virginea.

"Whereas the good ship called the *Hercules*, is now preparing and almost in a readinesse with necessarie provisions to make a supplie to the Lord Governor and the Colonie in *Virginea*, it is thought meet (for the avoiding of such vagrant and unnecessarie persons as do commonly profer themselves being altogether unserviceable) that none but honest sufficient Artificers, as Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers, Fishermen, Brickmen, and such like, shall be entertained into this Voyage. Of whom so many as will in due time repaire to the house of Sir *Thomas Smith* in Philpot lane, with sufficient testimonie of their skill and good behaviour, they shall receive entertainement accordingly."

[No Imprint.]

CXLIII. MORE TO WINWOOD.

December 15, 1610. Letter from Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood, written in London. Extract.

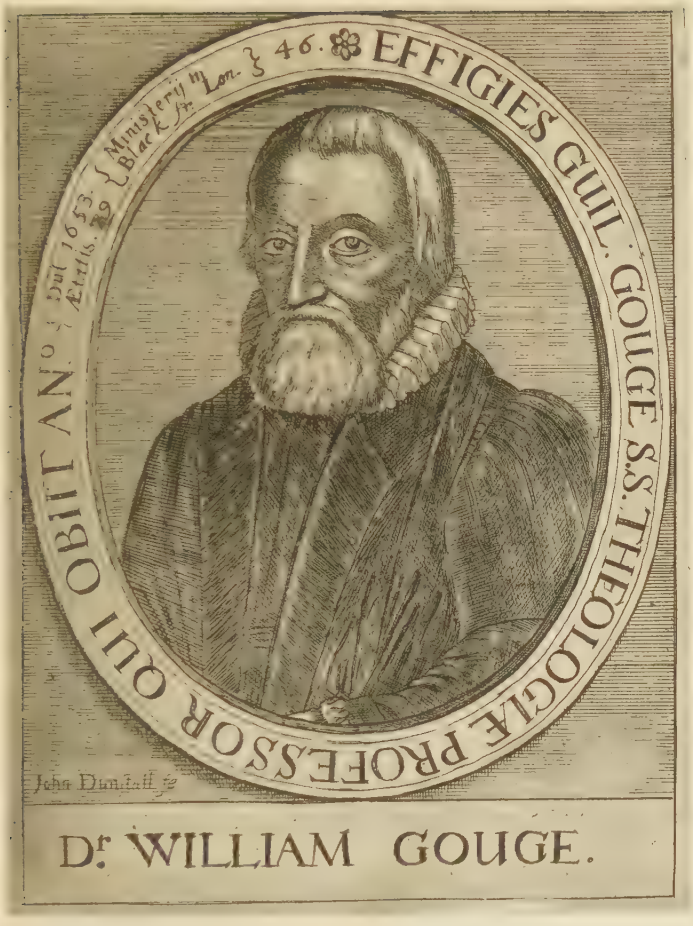
"It is written from Seville, and confirmed likewise from other Ports, that one of the Kings of Barbary hath delivered Morrocco into the hands of the King of Spain for a sume of money; which will subject our Merchants trading through the straights the more into the Spaniard's Mercy: Yet for the present we gaine this one point, by the *diverting of the Spaniard's Designs into Africa, we are the more secure to settle our Plantations in Ireland and Virginia.* So soon as the Hector [correctly the Hercules] (now ready to hoise sail) shall be set forth of this Haven towards Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates will hasten to the Hague, where he will conferr with the States about the overture that Sir Noel Caron hath here made for joining with us in that Collonie.[1] Sir Noell hath also made a Motion to joyn their East India Trade with ours; but we fear that in case of joyning, if it be upon equall Terms, the Art and Industry of their People will wear out ours."

[Mem. — The Hercules sailed for Virginia soon after December 15, 1610.]

CXLIV. EVELYN'S LETTER.

I think that Robert Evelin, the writer of the following, sailed to Virginia in the Hercules, and that the letter was written about this time. It is taken from "The Evelyns in America," by G. D. Scull, Oxford, England, 1881, pp. 62–65. Mr. Scull says Mrs. Stoughton died November 11, 1610, and as the letter mentions her "*debts*," he thinks it

[1] Several references will be found to such plans in the letters of the Spanish ambassadors. Mr. Neill has given an extract from this letter in his "Virginia Company of London," p. 51. The letter was published in 1725 in the "Winwood Memorials," by Edmond Sawyer, vol. iii. p. 239.



REV. WILLIAM GOUGE, D. D.

must have been written *before* her death; but it seems to me evident that the reference is to her "*deth*," not "debts," and therefore I think the letter was written *after* November 11, 1610, probably in December, just before the sailing of the Hercules.

"Mother Evelyn, — I commend me most particularly unto you and to my brother Richard, hoping in God of your good health, which I beseech God long to continue to his will and pleasure with much comfort and happiness. I am very sorry that I am morgaged so much, that I am driven to tell you to pay the hundred marks to Mr. Stoughton for me, which you, at my request, did stand bound so kindly for me to him. I am much grieved at my heart for it that my estate is so mean, that at this time I am not able to repay it; but if it be God's pleasure to restore me, I will repay it again to your good liking. I am going to the sea, a long and dangerous vo[yage with] other men, to make me to be [able] to pay my debts, and to restore my decayed estate again; which, I beseech God of His mercy to grant it, may be [made] prosperous unto me to His honour, and my comfort in this world and in the world to come; and I beseech you, if I do die, that you would be good unto my poor wife and children, which, God knows, I shall leave very poor and very mean, if my friends be not good unto them, for my sins have deserved these punishments and far greater at God's hands, which I humbly beseech God of His mercy to [pardon]. I would have gladly seen you and my brother at this time, but that the Captain of the ship made such haste away so suddenly. I am very sorry for the [*deths*] of my sister and brother Stoughton, but we must all be contented with the pleasure of Almighty God. [Whenever] it is His pleasure to dispose of us, no doubt they are most happy and blessed *at rest with God and out of this troublesome world*. My wife commends her unto you, and we do [heartily and] most humbly thank you for your love and care of her; and I pray God give her years to shew herself duti-

ful unto you for it, and thankful, and to her unkle. My mother Yunge, and my brother Morris and his wife, commend them unto you, and I would entreat you commend us unto Mr. Comber and his wife and Mr. Yunge and his wife; and I would entreat my brother Richard, and Mr. Comber, to do me this kindness, that when [they] go to London, they would sometimes see my wife, and that she may not think that all my friends have forsaken her; and that my brother Richard would do me this kindness, as to give my mother Yunge thanks for her [great] care of me and my children, and I shall be very bound to him for it."

CXLV. EXTRACT FROM THE MERCERS' RECORDS.

At a Court of the Mercers' Company held "on the 20th December, 1610, the Wardens stated that they had been called before the Lord Mayor and ordered to call the Company together touching a farther supply for the furthering of the plantation of Virginia; but the Company answered that they had already adventured out of their stock a competent sum of money and answerable to that which other companies of the city had done, besides the large adventures of many particular brethren of the Company, and their resolution was not to adventure any farther out of the stock of the Company."

The above is extracted out of a letter from the clerk of the company to me dated, Mercers' Hall, London, April 18, 1885.

CXLVI. VELASCO TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2587, FOLIO 137.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Alonso de Velasco to the King of Spain, dated London, December 31, 1610. Received January 16 (*i. e.* 6th), 1611.

"SIRE. On the 30th [20th] of September [CXXXVI.]

I wrote to Y. M. what I could hear about Virginia, by the arrival of Captain 'Neoporto' from that country and since then I have been very anxious to penetrate the designs which they have for the future and I have ascertained that within a month from now there will sail four ships, the Captain's ship of 250 tons, another of 150, and the other two of 120 each. They carry 300 men ('todos obedientales de diver son obedientes') and the 60 with their wives, 8 ministers of their religion, 1000 arquebuses, 500 muskets, 300 corselets, 500 helmets, and a quantity of ammunition, all of which has been gotten ready with great secrecy, by order of the King, and without consulting the Council, and for greater concealment a rich merchant has been charged with the matter, who in the form of a Company with others has made these provisions. They go with orders to fortify themselves once more and to build ships, on account of the great facilities offered in those countries, where they find an abundance of good oak-timber and pitch. Thus being so near to the 'Habana' [Havana], if they succeed with this, if they sail from there, they can reach it in 6 days, having fair weather; and this would be a very serious inconvenience for Y. M's fleets in case Y. M. should determine to go to war.

"May Our Lord preserve Y. M." etc.

CXLVII. RALEGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

From "Life of Ralegh," by Edwards, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 333, 334. Probably written in 1610; but the date is uncertain.

Sir Walter Ralegh to Queen Anne of Denmark, consort of King James of England.

"The same blessinge which God doth contynewe towards your Majestie will, I hope, put your Majestie in minde of your charritie towards others. I long since presumed to offer your Majestie my service in Virginia, with a shorte

repetition of the comoditie, honor, and safetye which the King's Majestie might reape by that plantation, yf it were followed to effecte. I doe still hombly beseech your Majestie that I may rather die in serving the Kinge and my countrey then to perrish here.

"I did also presume hertofore to set downe my answeres to all objectyones that could be made, to wit, that yf I wente not by a day sett that I would forfete my life and estate; that I wold leave my wife and two sonnes pleadges for my faith, and that my wife shall yeald herself to death, yf I performe not my duty to the Kinge. And yf this suffice not, that it may be tould the masteres and marrineres that transporte me that yf I offer to saile elsewhere thay may caste me into the Sea.

"But were ther nothinge ells, let your Majestie, I beseech you, be resolved that it shall never be said of me that the Queen of England gave her worde for this man; that the Queen tooke him out of the hands of Death; that he, like a villaine and perjured slave, hath betrayde so worthy a princes, and hath brokene his faithe. Noe, Maddam, as God lyveth, ther is no bound, noe, not the lose of 20 sonnes, cane tye me so faste as the memory of your goodnes, and ther is neither death nor life that cane allewre me or feare me from the performance of my duty to soe worthie and charritable a Lady.

"This I knowe your Majestie may effecte for me, and the sooner, if you please to engage your worde for me to the Earle of Salesbury. And yf your Majestie thinke me worthie of Life, or that I have any bloud of a gentleman in me, I beseech you vouchsaife it; and your Majestie shall never repente you or receave lose by your goodnes towardes me, from whose reverence and service no power but that of God by death shall ever seperat, but that I will ever rest

"Your most humble vassall,

"W. Raleghe."

CXLVIII. A BROADSIDE BY THE COUNCIL.

January, 1611. This is No. 127 of the Collection of Printed Broadsides in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and I know of no other original.

"By the Counsell of Virginea.

"Seeing it hath pleased God, after such hard successe and the manifold impediments knowne to the World, that now by the Wisdome and industry of the Lord Governour settled in *Virginea*, the state and businesse of the English Plantation there succeedeth with hope of a most prosperous event, and that therefore it is resolved and almost in a readinesse, for the further benefit and better settling of the said Plantation, to make a new supply of men and all necessarie provisions in a fleet of good ships, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dale* Knights, and for that it is not intended any more to burden the action with vagrant and unnecessarie persons: This is to give notice to so many honest and industrious men, as Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers, Fishermen, Tanners, Shoemakers, Shipwrights, Brickmen, Gardeners, Husbandmen, and labouring men of all sorts, that if they repaire to the house of Sir *Thomas Smith* in Philpot lane in *London*, before the end of this present moneth of Januarie, the number not full, they shall be entertained for the Voyage, upon such termes as their qualitie and fitnesse shall deserve.

"Imprinted at London for William Welby. 1611."

CXLIX. RESOLUTION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

January 10, 1611. From the Register of Resolutions of the States General in the Royal Archives at the Hague, folio 23.

"Resolution of the States General, granting leave of absence to Captain Dale. Thursday 20th January 1611.

"On the writing presented by the Honorable Rudolph Winwood, Ambassador from the King of Great Britain, it is ordered as follows: —

"The States General of the United Netherlands hereby consent and allow on the recommendation of his Highness the Prince of Wales, that Captain Thomas Dale (destined by the King of Great Britain to be employed in Virginia in his Majestys Service) may absent himself from his company for the space of three years, and that his said company shall remain meanwhile vacant to be resumed by him if he think proper. It is understood that his pay as Captain shall cease during his absence."

CL. RESOLUTION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

January 15. Folio 29. Further Resolution of the States General respecting Captain Dale. Tuesday, the 25th January, 1611.

"It is considered at the further instance of the Hon^ble^ Rudolph Winwood, Ambassador of the King of Great Britain, whether Captain Thomas Dale should be allowed to receive the payment of his salary as Captain for the term of three years during which he is allowed to be absent from his company, in the service of his Royal Majesty of England, in Virginia; But it is resolved, in view of the very prejudicial consequences resulting therefrom to the State, that the aforesaid Captain Dale shall have to be content with what has been granted him on the recommendation of

the aforesaid Ambassador on behalf of his Highness the Prince of Wales."

CLI. RESOLUTION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

January 30. Folio 44. Further Resolution, etc. Wednesday the 9th February, 1611.

"The Heer Joachimi reports that the Sir Winwood, Ambassador of the King of Great Britain, General Veer, Governor of Briel, and Conway his Lieutenant, have again very urgently recommended, on behalf of his Highness the Prince of Wales, the request of Captain Dale, proceeding for three years to Virginia, that his allowance as Captain may go on in the meanwhile. It is again resolved, that the aforesaid Captain shall have to be content with the resolution here-to-fore adopted in this case."

The foregoing resolutions (CXLIX., CL., and CLI.) were printed in Albany, New York, in 1856, among the Holland "Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York." They were the results of recommendations from Henry, Prince of Wales, in favor of Sir Thomas Dale, given to the Ambassadors from the States when they were in England.

John Berke, Albert de Veer, Helias Oldenbarneveld, and Albert Joachimi, the said Ambassadors, were knighted by King James at Whitehall on the 13th of May, 1610. They were still in England at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, June 4, 1610.

CLII. WINWOOD TO SALISBURY.

The following (CLII. and CLIII.) are among the English State Papers, "Correspondence, Holland." They have never been printed, I believe.

February 6, 1611. Sir Ralph Winwood to Lord Salisbury.

"RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD:

"I receaved your Lordships *Letters*[1] in favor of Sir Thomas Gates, *the last of January*. And because the like motion some fewe dayes before,[2] was made for Sir Thomas Dale, *which the Prince was pleased to recommend to the States Ambassadors when they were in England*;[3] whereonto the States Generall gave this answere, that during his absence for three yeares, his Company should be opholden for him; but in the meane tyme, the treatment for his person as Captayne should cease; fearing that Sir Thomas Gates should finde no greater favour, I thought good before I would make the proposition in the Assembly of the States Generall, to acquaint, first the Count Maurice, with the charge I had receaved from his Majestie: And afterwards Monsr. Barnevelt, whom I prayed to recommend the matter to some of his friends, who represented the States of Holland in the Assembly.

"The second of this moneth I procured audience, and used to them these words.

[4] "'Messieurs. Your Lordships have heard, for the report of it is general, how some gentlemen in England with other men of honour and of quality, have undertaken, at their own expense to establish a Colony of our People in the country of Virginia. Among the many who have worked hard to carry out this design, there is no one who has done more to advance this business, than one of your Captains, called the Chevalier Thomas Gates, who last year has been there, having been led there by the Providence of God, after having been exposed to the peril of shipwreck at sea, and having been cast by a tempest, upon the islands, the Bermudos, where he has remained, with all his followers, for more than forty weeks. His Majesty of Great

[1] So Gates arrived at the "Haghe" about January 31, 1611.

[2] See CXLIX., CL., and CLI.

[3] See note on the above numbers.

[4] The original of what follows is in French.

Britain, desiring a happy issue of this enterprise, on account of the great benefits which He foresaw would spring from it, both for the Christian religion and for the increase of Commerce, believes no one to be better qualified for such employment than the aforesaid de Gates, both for his own qualities and for the practical knowledge of those regions which he possesses. On this account His Majesty has charged me to ask your Lordships in his name and on his behalf, that with your kind permission he be allowed once more to proceed to those parts, and there remain for some time, conducting the Colony, until your service shall recall him from there; and that, in the meantime, his Company be maintained, until his return, in charge of his lieutenant, and the other officers. This is not a great thing, and yet these little favours maintain friendship between friends and allies: nor is it to be feared that this request may be extended too far, since there is only this man and Captain Dale, who are intended for this service. I request a prompt decision on your part: the M^r^ de Gates has been summoned, and the 4 ships, destined to make this voyage to Virginia, are ready to make sail, awaiting only a favourable wind and his coming.'

"The President did pray me awhile to retire; and after some half howers time, being called in he made me this answere; 'That the States Generall were glad of any occasion, which might be presented, whereby they might give testimony of their dutifull respecte and affection to his Majestie, and therefore were well content, that at his majesties instance, Sir Thomas might be employed in Virginia: Until whose returne his companie should be entertayned: but during his absence, the treatment for his owne person, as Captaine, was to be defalked.' I replied, 'that that was the mulcte which ordinarily was imposed upon them, who without their leave, were absent from their charge: and therefore prayed them, syth they were pleased to give him leave, not to inflicte a penalty for his absence:' The President answered: 'The resolution was taken by the

States, which was not in theyr power to alter.' I prayed them 'to be pleased better to advyse of it: and whatsoever they should resolve, to give order I might receave it by writing,' which this day from the Greffier I did receave; the copie whereof[1] I send herewith to your Lordship. The originall, I have delivered to Sir Thomas Gates, whom moste of it doth concerne. The States doe thinke, they doe him herein an extraordinary favour to bynd themselves, during his absence, to the upholding of his Company, which if he were present himselfe, would every day be subjecte to the hazard of caseering, and if the different [sic] of contributions be not the more speedily accommodated, whereof here is small appearance, before many moneths be passed, there wilbe great alteration amongst our Companies; and if once the Provinces begin to caseere, they will strive, à l'envye, who shall caste the fastest and discharge itself the soonest of the burthen of theyr souldiers. . . .

"RAPHE WINWOOD.

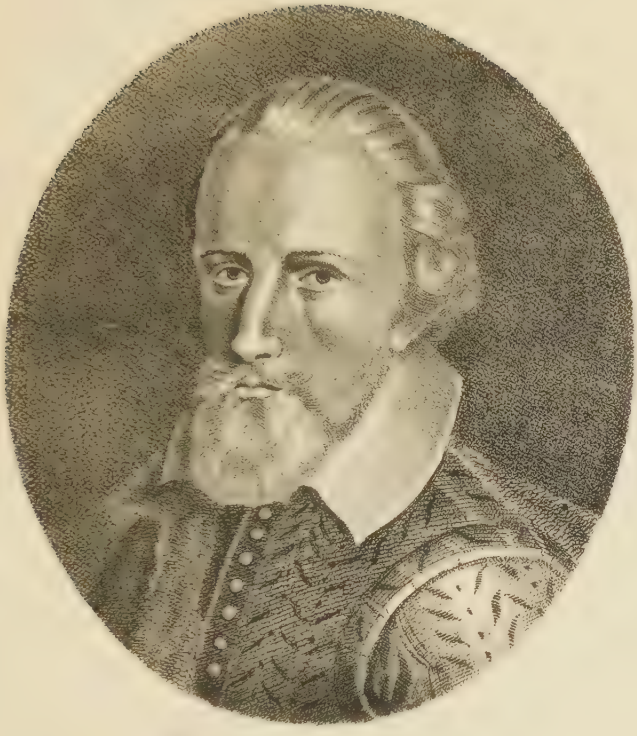
"Haghe this 6. of february 1610."

CLIII. REPLY OF STATES GENERAL.

February 2, 1611. Reply of the States General to the propositions made for Sir Thomas Gates.

"The States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, having maturely considered the recommendation made in their Meeting by Sir Ralph Winwood, Ambassador of the King of Great Britain &c. in behalf of Thomas Gates, Captain of an English Company in their service to the end that said Gates be permitted to absent himself from his aforesaid Company for the time during which His Majesty may wish to employ him in a voyage, which he is to make in his service, with 4 ships to Virginia, or for such other time as their Lordships may wish to determine, whilst allowing him, however, in the meantime to enjoy his ordinary

[1] CLIII.



pay as Captain, &c. — declare that they desire nothing so much as to please and to serve His Majesty in all things, the consequences of which will not redound to the prejudice of their State, and are therefore well content and agree that the said Captain Thomas Gates may absent himself from his said Company and employ himself in said voyage for the time that the affairs of these Provinces will at all permit it, and that during this time, said Company shall be maintained and his place as Captain shall be left open for him, to be his again at his return if he so wishes it. Well understood however that during his absence he shall not be allowed to enjoy the aforesaid pay, for this reason, and also even on this account, that the Province, to which this Company is allotted will make difficulties to pay it by itself: So that the foresaid Lordships the States General, request the said Ambassador that he will see to it and procure that His Majesty shall hold this excuse agreeable.

"Done at the Meeting of the Honorable States General at the Hague, the 12th of February 1611.

"Magnus Vt

"By order of the Hon: States General.

"Gersens . . ."

CLIV. PHILIP III. TO GASPAR DE PEREDA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2641.

Copy of a minute of a letter of the King of Spain to Don Gaspar de Pereda, dated Madrid February 20, 1611, on Virginia affairs.

"To Don Gaspar de Pereda Governor of the Havana.

"Don Alonso de Velasco, my embassador in England has written to me in letters of the last of December of last year, of the foot hold which the English have in Virginia. Within a month 4 ships with 300 men, a few women and many arms and ammunition, are to leave England for this

same country. They have orders to fortify themselves once more and to build ships, so that if they succeed with this, if they leave there [Virginia], being so near to that Island, they can reach there [Cuba] within 6 days sail and it would be a very serious inconvenience for my fleets. *Of this I wished to inform you, and to charge and command you as I now do, that you should send out and obtain a certain account of what this means about Virginia, what forces and what strength they have there with every other information that can be gotten. You will be warned and prepared in your parts, so that no injury be done, reporting to me at the same time with great exactness what there may be in this matter, and I shall be your affectionate.*" . . .

CLV[1]. EXTRACTS FROM NORTHAMPTON RECORDS.

These documents are now preserved among the Records of Northampton County, Virginia. Copies were made for me by Garland P. Moore, deputy for Gilmor S. Kendall, clerk. There was some difficulty about reading the old script correctly. Dale subscribed £75, and it may be that that amount is the correct amount in CLV[1]. However, the Council may have allowed him a Bill of Adventure to cover the whole expense of his outfit, etc. The date of CLV[2]. is not certain, and a good many words are given as doubtful. From the Records found in England, it seems that the clerk of the Company it this time was Edward Maye. I do not know which is correct, "Maye" or "Mayor." These papers were copied in England in 1643, and sent to Virginia, to be used in settling the estates of the wife of Sir Thomas Dale, who had recently died.

"Whereas Sir Thomas Dale, Knight Marshall of Virginia hath payd in ready money to Sir Thomas Smyth Knight Treasurer of Virginia the summe of three hundred seventy five pounds for his Adventures towards the sayd voyage.

It is agreed that for the same hee the sayd Sir Thomas Dale his heirs, executors, Administrators or Assignes shall have ratably according to his Adventures his full part of all such lands tenements and hereditaments, as shall from tyme to tyme bee there recovered planted and inhabited. And of such mynes and mineralls of gold, silver and other mettalls or treasure, pearls, precious stones, or any kind of wares or merchandizes, commodityes or profits whatsoever which shal be obtayned or gotten in the said voyage according to the portion of money by him ymployed to that use, in as Ample manner as any other Adventurer therein shall receyve for the like summe.

"Written the twenty seventh of February Anno Dom. 1610. EDWARD MAYOR."

"This is a true coppie of the original, under the Seale of the Virginia Company, examyned the 14th day of October 1643 by us under written.

"FRA: MOSES. Nory Public.
"SOLO: SEABRIGHT. " "

CLV².

"Whereas the right honorable Sir Thomas Dale Knight Marshall of Virginia (being the first man of his ranke and degree that hath undertaken that charge and place) hath not only adventured his person in that service in tymes of greatest difficulty but has been at great charges both in furthering the action and furnishing himselfe. The Counsell of Virginia at their meeting on the xviijth of this instant upon their special trust and confidence that as hee hath begunn soe he will proceed and continue in advanceing soe christian and noble an Action, have withe unanimous consent thought this: — That our consideration be now had of him, but such (as in future times) shal be by no meanes drawne into precedent upon any occasion whatsoever — They therefore agreed that his person should be rated at the summe of seven

hundred pounds and that hee, the said Sir Thomas Dale, his heyres, executors, Administrators or Assigns shall have ratably (according to the sayde Some) his and their full share of all such lands, Tenements and hereditaments as shall from tyme to tyme be there recovered, planted and inhabited. And of such mynes and mineralls of Gold and Silver and other mettalls or Treasures, pearls, precious stones, or any kinde of wares or merchandizes, commodities or profitts whatsoever which shalbe obtayned or gotten in the said voyage in as ample manner as any other adventurer therein shall ratably receive for the like summe. Written this xxvith of February An^{o} Dom^{o}. 161 .

"Edward Mayor."

"This coppie agreeth with the originall under the seale of the Virginia Company, examyned the xiith day of October 1643 by us under written.

"Fra: Moses. No^{ry} Publiq.
"Solo: Seabright. " "

CLVI. ROE TO SALISBURY.

SAINSBURY'S CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL, 1574–1660, PAGE 11.

Abstract of a letter from Sir Thomas Roe to Salisbury, dated Port d'Espaigne, Trinidad, February 28, 1610–11.

"Has seen more of the Coast, from the river Amazon to Orinoco, than any Englishman alive, having passed the wild coast and arrived at Port d'Espaigne. The Spaniards there are proud and insolent, yet needy and weak, their force is reputation, their safety is opinion. Will not exceed the honourable caution Salisbury gave him. The Spaniards treat the English worse than Moors. News that the King of Spain intends to plant Orinoco. Men, cattle and horses are arriving daily to be employed in fortifying the place, raising a new city, and in the conquest of Guiana. Thinks all

will be turned to smoke. The Government is lazy, and has more skill in planting and selling tobacco than in erecting Colonies or marching armies. Don Juan de Gambo, the late Governor of Caraccas, proscribed for treating some English well, and fled inland. Will try and confer with him, for he is a great soldier, and may be of service to England. Should Roe fail, hopes to bring over one, born a Venetian, of almost equal ability."

CLVII. VELASCO TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2588, FOLIO 22.

Copy of a deciphered letter of Don Alonso de Velasco to the King of Spain, dated London, March 22, 1611.

"SIRE. Since I have come to this country I have tried to ascertain the condition of the people of Virginia, the reasons which induced the English to continue there and the inconveniences which this might cause Y. M's service. Having found the reports to vary very much I have tried to ascertain the truth by means of the persons who have come over in the two ships[1] which have recently arrived, thro' the agency of 'Guillermo Monçon' [William Monson,] Admiral of this Strait, who as a person of such high authority among sailors *has in secret and with great skill discovered what follows:*

"That the province is very fertile in all that may be planted and of a good climate — that there is much wild growing fruit and great quantity of grapes, and thus it is believed, that they would try to have vineyards — there is a great abundance of fish along the coast and in the rivers, and good oak timber as well as all the main necessaries for

[1] The Blessing and the Hercules arrived in September, 1610, and these are probably the two ships referred to. See the reference to the same William Monson in CXXXVI. The next ship to arrive was the Dainty, probably in December, 1610, in which the surveyor probably returned.

ship building — there is no information of mines of gold or of silver being found, but there are some few of iron. They have built two forts on the bank of a river, and but for these the Indians would have made an end of them, as they are warlike and pursue them continually, so that they cannot come out into the country without great danger, and they would have perished with hunger, if it were not for the swine which they have brought over from Bermuda. It does not appear that they will be able to maintain themselves, unless they bring over so large a number of people that they can make themselves Lords of the Country, as the Indians now are. Their principal reason for colonizing these parts is to give an outlet to so many idle and wretched people as they have in England, and thus to prevent the dangers that may be feared from them.[1] They cannot sail from there to the Havana without first touching at the Canaries, on account of the currents[2] which follow there the whole coast from the Bahama channel by Florida up to Virginia, which is the way they would have to go, and which are so strong during the whole year that navigation is impossible there. Thus I am assured by Monson, who tried it years ago without being able to succeed with it, and he learns the same from those who have after that tried to take that course.

[1] The reasons for planting the colony were many. This was one of the reasons advanced by some, and it was put in practice to a certain extent in the first voyage of Gates, June, 1609; but many thought the terrible contagion which nearly swept away the colony in the fall of 1609 was almost entirely attributable to this element; and the managers of the enterprise, as will be seen by their broadsides, etc., took every precaution to prevent the colony from being thus burdened again. The Rev. William Crashaw in his sermon (February 21, 1610), in meeting this charge says: "Oh, but those that goe in person are rakte up out of the refuse, and are a number of disordered men unfit to bring to passe any good action: *So indeed say those that lie and slander.* But I answere for *the generalitie* of them that goe, they be such as offer themselves voluntarily, for none are pressed, none are compelled: And be like (for ought that I see) to those are left behind, even of all sorts better and worse. But for many that *goe in person*, let these objecters know, they be as good as themselves, and it may be, many degrees better." ["*The generalitie*" were sent out by the company; those that "*goe in person*" paid their own way.]

[2] The Gulf Stream.

"They say also that it is impossible to pass to the South Sea by the river on which they have erected their two forts. By land it is more than 400 leagues off and many high mountains are there and vast deserts which the Indians themselves never yet have explored. Thus no credit can be given to what the Irishman Francisco Manuel says in the report which Y. M. commanded to be sent to me [CXXXI.].

"*This King sent last year a surveyor to survey that Province, and he returned here about three months ago* and presented to him [King James] a plan or map of all that he could discover, a copy of which [CLVIII.] I send Y. M. Whose Catholic Person" etc.

CLVIII. MAP OF AMERICA.

This map, said to have been made in Virginia by a surveyor sent over by the King of England (in 1610) for that purpose, who returned to England about December, 1610, procured in some secret way by the Spanish Ambassador in London and sent to the King of Spain, is very interesting and valuable. It is curious that it should be first published in the strange country which it attempted to delineate.

I think the map evidently embodies (besides the surveys of Champlain and other foreigners) the English surveys of White, Gosnold, Weymouth, Pring, Hudson, Argall, and Tyndall, and possibly others. Strachey, referring to Argall's voyage of June to August, 1610 (CXLI.), says he "made good, from 44 degrees, what Captayne Bartho. Gosnoll and Captayne Waymouth wanted in their discoveries, observing all along the coast, and *drawing the plotts thereof*, as he steered homewardes, unto our bay."

Purchas (vol. iii. p. 590), in a side-note to the narrative of Hudson's voyage along our coast in August, 1609, says, "This agreeth with *Robert Tyndall*." Tyndall made a plan of James River for the Prince of Wales in 1607, which is now probably lost. He made a chart of James and

York rivers in 1608, which I have given (XLVI.). He was not in Argall's voyage, June to August, 1610 (CXLI.), because from June 17 to 30 he was employed in the Chesapeake; but he was probably afterwards with Argall while trading in the Bay, the Potomac, etc.

I am inclined to think that the map was compiled and drawn either by Robert Tyndall or by Captain Powell. However, I cannot be certain. The names of places on this map are sometimes different from those on Tyndall's Chart (XLVI.), and when the names are the same they are generally spelled differently. While I do not know positively that either Tyndall or Powell was the draughtsman, it is certain that the Virginia Company of London, from the beginning, employed competent surveyors and posted themselves as rapidly as possible regarding the cartography of the country; but it was highly important that they should preserve the fruits of their labor in this kind for their own use, and they did so as far as they were able. In 1616, when Virginia and the Bermudas were under nearly the same management, surveyors and commissioners it seems were sent out to both plantations, who probably made accurate surveys. No copies of the Virginia surveys have as yet been found; but Richard Norwood's excellent survey of the Bermudas was engraved in 1626, and thus preserved, and this gives us the character of the men employed by the Virginia Company and the character of their work. Norwood was a man of note in his profession, and his work was excellent.

The North Carolina coast, on this map, was evidently taken, chiefly, from Captain John White's survey and drawings. I have compared it with our present coast surveys and with other maps, and the following table is probably approximately correct.

Name on Map.	*Present Name.*
C. Feare.	Cape Lookout.
Ende Sohes. [End Shores?]	Near Whalebone Inlet?
Wococon.	Portsmouth I.?
Croatoan.	Ocracoke Inlet?
C. S. John.	Cape Hatteras.
C. Kenrick.	Near Chicamicomico?
Hatarask.	Near New Inlet?
Po. Fernando.	Oregon Inlet?
Po. Lane.	Near Nag's Head?
Roanoack.	Roanoke I.
Trinitie Harbor.	Caffey Inlet? now closed.

It seems evident that W. Hole used a copy of the Virginia part of this map for his engraving (CCXLII.). See the remarks on that map.

The coast from Cape Charles to about 41° north latitude, and up the Hudson River to a little beyond the entrance of the Mohawk, contains only one or two names, and I think was drawn from the recent surveys of Hudson (1609) and Argall (1610). The legend, "All the blue is dunne by the relations of the Indians," probably refers most especially to this part of the map.

I believe, the New England coast of this map shows traces of the surveys of Captains Gosnold, Archer, Pring, Weymouth, and probably of the North Virginia colonists, as well as of Champlaine, and possibly other foreigners. This part of the map is especially interesting as it retains many of the names given to localities, etc., by the original discoverers.

Name on Map.	*Present Name.*
Cladia [Claudia].	Block Island.
Elizabethes Iles.	Elizabeth's Islands?
Marthay's Viniard.	Martha's Vineyard.
C. Cod.	Cape Malabar.
C. Shole.	Cape Cod Shoal.

Whitsun's hed.	Cape Cod.
Whitson's bay.	Cape Cod Bay.
Penguin.	Barnstable?

Savidg Iles. [(Rocks?) along south shore of Massachusetts Bay.]

[Massachusetts Bay is drawn but not named.]

A Shole. [Near Boston Harbor.]

Ile of Sands. [Near Boston Harbor.]

[Boston Harbor is drawn but not named.]

Peninsula.	Cape Ann.
Ile Lobster.	
C. Porpas.	Cape Porpoise.
R. Sagadahock	Kennebec River.
I. St. George.	Monhegan I.

Tahanock.

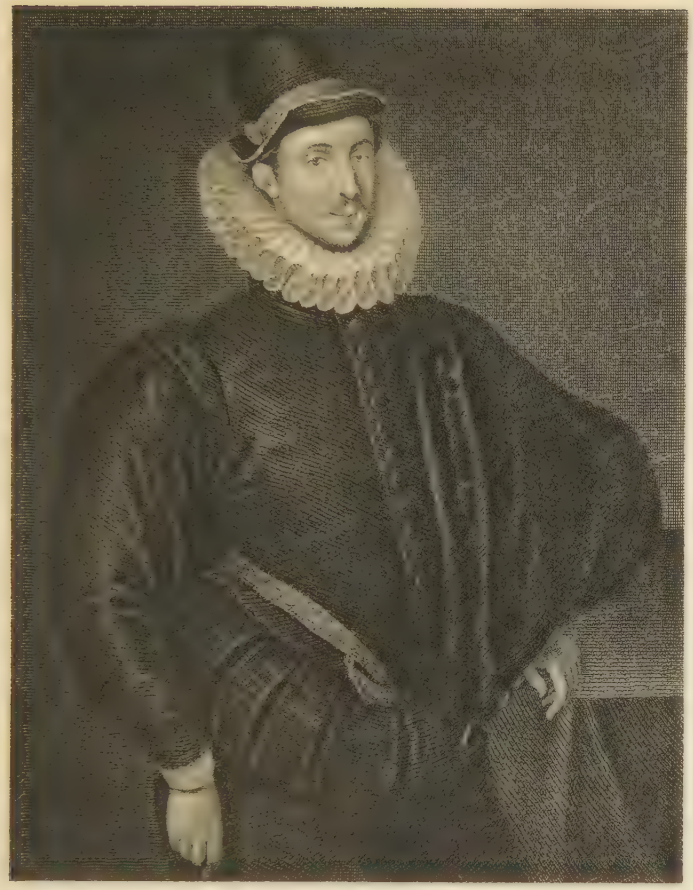
[The cross at the bend of the Tahanock was possibly erected there by Captain George Weymouth, June 13, 1605.]

S. Georges Banck.	Saint George's Bank.
Iles Basses	
Penduis.	
I. haute.	Isle au Haut.
R. Pemerogett [Pentagoet?]	Penobscot River.
Iles de Mountes Deserts.	Mt. Desert Islands.
Iles Las Ranges.	
I. Peree.	
R. de Eschemanis (Etechemins).	St. Croix River.
I. St. Croix.	
Ile oni[aux] Oiseaux.	

The last nine or ten names are evidently derived from French sources.

It will not be necessary for me to annotate the portions of the map referring to Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, etc.

I will mention the following additional references to early surveyors and maps. The Virginia Records at Washington mention, under November, 1620, that Captain Madison, who



FULKE GREVILL
1st Baron Brooke

had been twelve years together in Virginia, was especially employed by Dale in discovering the country, rivers, etc.

The author of "New Albion" (1648) in describing Delaware Bay refers to Captain Smith's *book* of Virginia, and to "Captaine Powel's *Map*." Without discussing the matter here, I will say that it seems certain that Captains Robert Tyndall, Isaac Madison, and Nathaniel Powell were making surveys, drawing maps, etc., for the company from the beginning.

[MEM. — "March 15, or thereabouts, Sir Thomas Dale sails for Virginia, with three ships, three hundred people, twelve kine, twenty goats, and all things needful for the colony." — Howes' Stow.

"About the middle of March last [1611] Sir Thomas Dale, Knight Marshall of Virginia was sent thither with three ships and three hundreth men and all things necessary for the Colony, and also twelve kine, twenty goates, besides Coneies, Pigeons and Pullen." — Howes' abridgment of Stow.

The fleet sailed from "the land's end March 17th." Probably the only one of the documents, letters, etc., carried over by him which has been preserved is CLIX.]

CLIX. LAWS BY DALE.

The Lawes, etc., afterwards printed in CXC., are contained in the reprint of Peter Force, 1844, vol. iii. pp. 82, etc.

CLX. SANDYS TO MAYOR OF SANDWICH.

Sir Edwin Sandys to the Mayor and Jurats of Sandwich.

"S^r^

"I am requested by his Majestie's Counsil for Virginia to conveigh these inclosed,[1] to your hands and to procure

[1] CLXI., CLXII., and CLXIII. CLX. and CLXI. were published by

your answer against the beginning of the next term. The effect is to invite your town and such particular persons of worth as shall be so disposed, to partnership in the great action of Virginia, which after manifold disasters doth now, under the government of noble and worthie leaders, begin to revive, and we trust ere long shall flourish.

"I acquainted them that your Town had been much hindered by sickness: in regard whereof the less will be perhaps expected. But they would not pass over so principal a port, in an action tending generally to the good of the whole Realm, but the profit whereof will chiefly fall to the Haven Towns, and principally in them, to merchants.

"But I will leave you to the letter itself; only this much (to acquaint you with the present state of the business): We have sent away Sir Thomas Dale with 300 men and great abundance of victual and furniture. We send after them this next month two ships more with 100 Kyne and 200 swine for breed. And if monie come in, whereof we are in very good hope, in May next we shall send Sir Thomas Gates with other 300 men of the best and choicest we can procure. Which done, and God blessing them, the busines we account as won.

"Thus with my very heartie salutations, I betake you to the Tuition and Direction of the Highest, and rest,

"Your very loving friend.

"Edwin Sandys.

"Norborn, 21 March, 1610." (1611.)

the Rev. Edward D. Neill, A. B., in 1878, in his *Early Settlement of Virginia*, pp. 40–43. The others have not been published in America before, so far as I know. They are all preserved among the archives of Sandwich, England. I have used copies made directly from these archives for me. They differ but little from Mr. Neill's. The most important difference is in the date of CLXI. My copy gives the date as 20th February, his as the 28th.

CLXI. CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL.

"A circular Letter of his Majestie's Counsil for Virginia.

"The eyes of all Europe are looking upon our endevors to spread the Gospell among the Heathen people of Virginia, to plant our English nation there, and to settle at in those parts which may be peculiar to our nation, so that we may thereby be secured from being eaten out of all proffits of trade, by our more industrious neighbors. We cannot doubt but that the eyes, also, of your best judgments and affections are fixed no less upon a design of so great consequence.

"The reasons, wherefore, that action hath not yet received the success of our desires and expectations are published in print to all the world. To repeat them were idlenes in us and must be tedious to you, yet to omit mention of that main reason which hath shaken the whole frame of this busines and which hath begot these our requests to you, would but return unto us a fruitless accompt and consequentlie a hazard to destroy that life which yet breatheth in this action.

"That reason in few words was want of means to imploy good men and want of just payment of the means which were promised, so disabling us thereby to set forth our supplies in due season.

"Now that we have established a form of government fit for such members in the persons of the Lord La Warr and Sir George Sommers already in those parts, as also in Sir Thomas Dale embarked with 300 men and provisions for them, and the Colony to the value of many thousands of pounds, who is already fallen down the river, in his way thither, and in Sir Thomas Gates whom we reserve to second this expedition, in May next with 300 more of the choicest persons we can get for moneys through your means and our own cares. We accompt from many advised consultations that £30.000 to be paid in two years, for three supplies, will be a sufficient sum to settle there, a very able and strong *foundation of anexing another Kingdom to this Crown.*

"Of this £30.000. there is already signed by diverse particular noblemen, gentlemen and merchants the sum of £18.000, as may appear unto you by a true copy [1] of their names and sums, written with their own hands in a Register book which remaynes as a record in the hands of Sir Thomas Smith, the Treasurer for that plantation, so that the adventures to be procured from all the noblemen, the Byshopps and Clergie that have not yet signed, from all the gentrie, Merchants and Corporate townes of this Kingdome, doth but amount to £12.000. payable as aforesaid.

"To accomplish which sum we entreat your favors no farther than amongst yourselves, and as shall seem good unto you upon respect of your judgments, rank and place: we endevor by these our requests to gaine as helps unto us, in such poor measure as we have begun toward the advancement of so gloryous an action.

"We are farther to entreat your helpes to procure us such numbers of men and of such condition as you are willing and able; wee send you herewith the list [2] of the numbers and quality that we entend, God willing, to employ in May next.

"As soon as you can with conveniency we desire your resolutions touching means and men, upon receipt thereof we shall acknowledge due thanks and limit the time of their appearance, wherein we shall not forget the point of charge to the undertakers, howsoever we prefer so far as lies in us, a seasonable dispatch to the first place of our considerations.

"The benefit of this action, if it shall please God to blesse these begynnings with a happy success must arise to the general good of this Common wealth. To lay then a strong foundation for so great a work we hold ourselves and our request to yourselves warranted by the reasons aforesaid, and by the rules of honour and judgment, and for as we ourselves, the present adventurers, cannot receive the whole benefit, so can it not be expected that we should undergo the whole charge. The often renewed complaints against Companyes heretofore hath happened by reason of the Mo-

[1] CLXII. [2] CLXIII.

nopolizings of trade into a few men's hands, and though the ice of this busines hath been broken by the purses, cares, and adventures of a few, yet we seclude no subject from the future benefit of our present care, charge and hazard of person and adventures. All which we leave to your judicious considerations and only importune your speedy resolutions, that according to the warrants of duty we may either wash our hands from further care or cheerfully embrace strength from you to the furtherance of this action, that *tends so directly to advance the glory of God, the honor of our English nation and the profit and security, in our judgment, of this Kingdome.*

"And soe leaving you to that sence hereof which his goodness shall please to infuse into you, who is of absolute power to dispose of all things to the best, we rest.

"Your very loving friends.

"From Sir Thomas Smythe's house in Philpot Lane the 20th February, 1610. (O. S.)

PEMBROKE.
MONTGOMERY.
H. LO. SOUTHAMPTON.
R. LISLE.

[Illegible.] THO. SMYTHE. ROBERT MANSELL.
WALTER COPE. HE. FANSHAWE. EDWIN SANDYS.
G. COPPIN. THO. GATES. BAPTISTE HICKS."

CLXII. LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

This subscription list began to be circulated as early as November, 1610, if not before.

The last session of the first Parliament of James I. closed February 9, 1611, and this list had evidently been circulated among the members of the House of Commons, many of whom signed it. Of the 100 knights, probably 75 served at some time in the House, and most of these were then members. Of the 58 esquires, about 25 were then members. Of the 142 citizens and others, nearly all were leading men of affairs of that day, merchants, etc. A good many of them, also, served in Parliament; some became

knights, baronets, etc. All of the subscribers must have been persons of considerable means, as the smallest subscription was £37 10s., a sum nearly equal to one thousand dollars present value.

"Anno Dom: 1610. [1611 N. S.] The names of such as have signed with the somes of money by them adventured on 3 yeares towardes the supply of the Plantation begonne in Virginia, accordinge to their order of writeing for that busines, remaininge in the Register Booke in the hands of Sir Thomas Smith, Treasurer."

KNYGHTES.

Sir Thomas Smith	£75 00 0	Sir Henrye Goodere	37 10 0
" Robert Mansell	75 00 0	" Carew Ralieghe	37 10 0
" Walter Cope	75 00 0	" Henrye Carewe	75 00 0
" Edwine Sandes	75 00 0	" Warwicke Heale	37 10 0
" Thomas Denton	37 10 0	" William Smith	37 10 0
" Thomas Dale	75 00 0	" Percivall Willoughbie	75 00 0
" Richard Grobham	75 00 0	" James Scudamore	37 10 0
" Mourice Berkley	75 00 0	" William Fleetewoode	37 10 0
" Dudley Digges	75 00 0	" John Hungerford	37 10 0
" James Perrott	37 10 0	" Thomas Grantham	37 10 0
" Richard Spencer	75 00 0	" Edmonde Bowyer	37 10 0
" Samuel Sandes	37 10 0	" Thomas Sherley	37 10 0
" Thomas Mansell	75 00 0	" Anthonie Ashlie	
" John Hollis	75 00 0	" John Bourchier	
" Henry Nevill	37 10 0	" Henry Nevill	
" William Wade	75 00 0	" Christopher Parkins	
" Edward Cecil	75 00 0	" John Hanham	
" Baptist Hicks	75 00 0	" Robert Miller	37 10 0
" Robert Kelligrewe	75 00 0	" Thomas Jermyne	37 10 0
" William Twisden	37 10 0	" Valentine Knightley	37 10 0
" John Scott	75 00 0	" Thomas Middleton	37 10 0
" John Sames	150 00 0	" John Ackland	37 10 0
" ffrauncis Leighe	37 10 0	" John Watts	37 10 0
" William Boulstrod	37 10 0	" Thomas Willford	37 10 0
" John Harrington	150 00 0	" Edward Conway	75 00 0
" John Davers	37 10 0	" John Greye	37 10 0
" Thomas ffreake	75 00 0	" John Bennett	37 10 0
" Peter Manwoode	37 10 0	" Thomas Beomont, the elder	37 10 0
" George Coppine	60 00 0	" William Lower	37 10 0
" William Romney	75 00 0	" Thomas Leedes	37 10 0
" John Townsende	37 10 0	" Cavaliero Maycote	175 00 0
" ffrauncis Barrington	37 10 0	" Thomas Horwell	37 10 0
		" Thomas Hewett	75 00 0

Sir William St John	75 00 0
" John St. John	75 00 0
Ladie Elianor Carre	37 10 0
Sir Walter Chute	75 00 0
" Marmaduke Darrell	75 00 0
" Stephen Powell	37 10 0
" Arthur Manveringe	75 00 0
" Robert Wroth	75 00 0
" David Murrey	75 00 0
" William Craven Lord Maior	75 00 0
" George Carey	45 00 0
" Samuell Lennard	37 10 0
" John Cutts	75 00 0
" Walter Vaughan	37 10 0
" Oliver Cromwell	75 00 0
" Moyle ffinche	75 00 0
" John Wentworth	37 10 0
" Frauncis Goodwine	37 10 0
" John Leveson	37 10 0
" Thomas Walsingham	37 10 0
" Henry Peyton	37 10 0
" William Harris	75 00 0
" Henry ffanshawe	60 00 0
" John Heyward	75 00 0
"	37 10 0
" Smith	75 00 0
" eywarde	37 10 0
" Ralphe Shelton	37 10 0
" William Hericke	37 10 0
" Charles Willmott	37 10 0
"	37 10 0
"	100 00 0
" nwoode	125 00 0
" Thomas Harkfleete	37 10 0
" Edward Heron	37 10 0
" John Dodrige	37 10 0

ESQUIRES.

John Pawlett	£75 00 0
Richard Martin	37 10 0
John Wollstenholme	75 00 0
John Eldred	37 10 0
David Waterhouse	37 10 0
Anthonye Barners	37 10 0
William Coyse	37 00 0
Arthur Ingram	75 10 0
John Bingley	75 00 0
John Welde	37 10 0
Raphe Ewens	37 10 0
Anthonie Erbie [Irby]	37 10 0
William Hackwell	37 10 0
Henrye Reignoldes	37 10 0
Thomas Warre	37 10 0
Christopher Brooke	37 10 0
William Ravenscrofte	37 10 0
Lawrence Hyde	37 10 0
ffrauncis Johanes	37 10 0
William Dobson	37 10 0
Nicholas Salter	37 10 0
William Garrawaye	50 00 0
Thomas Stevens	37 10 0
ffrauncis Tate	37 10 0
Richard Tomlyns	37 10 0
Nicholas Hyde	37 10 0
Richard Percivall	37 10 0
John Hare	37 10 0
Robert Askwith	37 10 0
John Waller	37 10 0
John Harris	37 10 0
Thomas Coventrye	37 10 0
Anthonie Dyott	37 10 0
Thomas Willson	37 10 0
ffrauncis Wortley	37 10 0
Gresham Hogan	37 10 0
Captaine Owen Gwinne	37 10 0
Walter FitzWilliam	75 00 0
Henry ffane	75 00 0
Augustine Stewarde	37 10 0
. . . . .	. .
John Culpeper	37 10 0
Humfrey Johnson gent	37 10 0
Captaine John Kinge	37 10 0
Thomas Watson	75 00 0
John Arundell	37 10 0
Henry Cromwell	37 10 0
John Legate gent	37 10 0
John Crowe gent	37 10 0
Thomas Mildmay	37 10 0
John Hoskyns	37 10 0
ffarnando Heyborne	37 10 0
Thomas Gouge gent	37 10 0
William Crashawe mynister	37 10 0
John Heyward mynister	37 10 0
William . . .	37 10 0
Captaine Thomas Button	37 10 0
Captaine Gyles Hawkeridge	37 10 0
Mrs. Elizabeth Scott (vidua)	37 10 0

CITIZENS AND OTHERS.

Mr. Robert Johnson	£60 00 0
" Hewett Staper	60 00 0
" William Russell	37 10 0
" John Merricke	37 10 0
" Richard Chamberlyn	37 10 0
" George Chamberlyne	37 10 0
" George Scott	37 10 0
" Jerome Heyden	37 10 0
" ffrauncis Covell	37 10 0
" Charles Anthonye	37 10 0
" Robert Offley	37 10 0
" William Cauuinge	37 10 0
" Henry Vincente	37 10 0
" William Welbie	37 10 0
" Jeames Hawoode	37 10 0
" John West	37 10 0
" Rice Webb	37 10 0
" William Quicke	37 10 0
" Phineas Pett	37 10 0
" Edmond Wynne	37 10 0
" Laurence Campe	37 10 0
" Peter Gate	37 10 0
" George Etheridge	37 10 0
" Thomas Wheatley	37 10 0
" Stephen Sparrowe	37 10 0
" Edward Ditchfield	37 10 0
" Richard Pigeott	37 10 0
" Hildebrand Spruson	37 10 0
" George Swinhowe	37 10 0
" Peter Mounsell	37 10 0
" George Barkley	37 10 0
" John Woodall	37 10 0
" Abraham Cartwright	37 10 0
Christopher Clitheroe	37 10 0
William Payne	37 10 0
Thomas Scott	37 10 0
William Barners	37 10 0
Richard Maplesden	37 10 0
Thomas Church	37 10 0
Nicholas Exstone	37 10 0
Richard Stratforde	37 10 0
John Wooller	37 10 0
Humfrey Hanforde	37 10 0
Randall Carter	37 10 0
Edward Lukin gent	37 10 0
Jefferey Duppa	37 10 0
Ellis Roberts	37 10 0
Roger Harris	37 10 0
Devoreux Woogan	£37 10 0
Christopher Landman	37 10 0
Alleine Cotton	37 10 0
Edward Baber (Barber)	37 10 0
John Stoakley	37 10 0
James Askewe	37 10 0
George Roberts	37 10 0
William Palmer	37 10 0
Ralphe Freeman	37 10 0
Adrian Moore	37 10 0
Nicholas ffarrar	37 10 0
Edward Bishoppe	37 10 0
William Evans	37 10 0
Matthew Shepherd	37 10 0
Thomas Dike	37 10 0
George Pitt	37 10 0
Nicholas Hooker	37 10 0
Edward Harrison	37 10 0
[Mr. Robert ?]	
Abraham Dawes	
Raphe Hamour	
Thomas Leavat	
Edward ffawcett	
Thomas Jadwine	
John Kerrell	
John Geringe	
John ffearmer	
Robert Shingleton	
Nicholas Andrews	
William Greenwell	
Phillipe Jacobson	37 10 0
Richard Rogers	37 10 0
Averye Drauffeild	37 10 0
John Busbridge	37 10 0
Richard Caswell	37 10 0
Martin ffreeman	37 10 0
Abraham Chamberlyne	37 10 0
John Robinson	37 10 0
Edward Alleine	37 10 0
Edward Cage	37 10 0
Gyles ffrauncis	37 10 0
William ffelgate	37 10 0
Thomas Draper	37 10 0
Matthewe Dequester	37 10 0
John ffletcher	75 00 0
Charles Hawkins	37 10 0
Laurence Greene	37 10 0
Nicholas Benson	37 10 0
John Hodges	37 10 0
Thomas Norrincot	37 10 0

William Nicholls	£37 10 0	Daniel Darnellye	£37 10 0
Edmond Alleine gent	75 00 0	Andrew Throughton	37 10 0
William Brighte	37 10 0	William Barrett	37 10 0
Thomas Style	75 00 0	Bourne (?)	37 10 0
Thomas Cordell	75 00 0	Edward Barners	37 10 0
John Reignolds	37 10 0	. . . .	37 10 0
Peter Bartle	37 10 0	. . . .	37 10 0
John Willest	37 10 0	Robert Mildmaye	37 10 0
Humfrey Smythe	37 10 0	John Withers	37 10 0
Roger Dye	37 10 0	George Holeman	37 10 0
Nicholas Leake	37 10 0	Raphe Kinge	37 10 0
Morris Abbot	37 10 0	Cleophas Smythe	37 10 0
Thomas Hinshawe	37 10 0	John Cason	37 10 0
Thomas Hodges	37 10 0	Thomas ffoxall	37 10 0
Thomas Wale	37 10 0	Robert Parkhurste	37 10 0
Lewis Tate	37 10 0	William Hazleden	37 10 0
Humfrey Merrett	37 10 0	Jarvize Munds	37 10 0
Robert Peake	37 10 0	William Bonham	37 10 0
. . . .	37 10 0	William Tucker	37 10 0
. . . .	37 10 0	Richard Warner	37 10 0
Francis Bradley minister	37 10 0	William ffleete	37 10 0
. . . .	37 10 0	William Burrell (Burwell)	37 10 0

"The adventures of the noble men and companies of London amounteinge to the some of ffive thousande pounds togeather with the particulers here recyted makes up the some of eighteene thousand powndes mentioned in our letter."

CLXIII. CLASSES OF EMIGRANTS WANTED.

"The Trades-men to be sent into Virginia under the Comaunde of Sir Thomas Gates.

Neames —— Phisisions ——		Appothecaries —— Chirurgions ——.	
Millwrights for Iron Mills	2	Fishermen	20
Iron Miners	4	Husbandmen	30
Iron finers	2	Gardiners	10
Iron founders	2	Saylers	20
Hamermen, for Iron	2	Watermen	10
Edge tole makers for Iron Worke	2	Sparemakers	2
Colliers for charcole	2	Laborers	10
Woodcutters	2	Brickmakers	4
Shipwrights	2	Bricklayers	6
Ship Carpenters	20	Lymeburners	2
Calkers	10	Sawiers	15
		Smithes	4

Edge tole makers	2	Masons	2
Coopers	6	Bakers	2
Baskett Makers	2	Brewers	2
Cutlers	2	Swine herdes	2
Armorers	2	Spinners of Pack threade	2
Tanners	2	Cordage makers	2
Last-makers	2	Bellowes Makers	2
Shoemakers	2	Millers	2
Taylors	2	Mat makers	
Clapboardmen	10	Gunpowder makers	2
Potters of Earth	4	Saltpeter men	2
Net makers	6	Salt makers	2
House Carpenters	10	Braziers in Mettle men	2
Uphoulsters of feathers		Distillers of Aqua Vite	2
Hempe planters		Sadlers	1
Hempe dressers		Coller-makers	2
Turners		Furriers	2
Millwrights for Water mills.		Stockmakers for peeces	2
Fowlers		Wheele and Plowrightes	6
Pike makers	2	Gun makers	2
Leather dressers		Tyle-makers	2
[Miner]ell men			

Mr. Dorman of Sandwich, Kent, writes me regarding CLX. to CLXIII. inclusive, as follows, viz. : —

"Sandwich, Kent, 8*th July*, 1886.

"My dear Sir, — In accordance with your letter of the 18th ultimo, I send you herewith copy of the documents you require.

"The MSS. [CLXII. and CLXIII.] appear to me to be in the same handwriting, and were apparently sent to Sandwich in the letter from the Council of Virginia of 20th February, 1610 [CLXI.]. They are defective and decayed in some parts, and in some few cases I have been obliged to make a guess at the names, while others I have been compelled to leave blank. . . .

"Yours faithfully,

"Thomas Dorman."

[Mem. — Edward Harlie and Nicholas Hobson probably sailed from England in March, 1611, on their voyage to our northern coasts. Purchas (iv. p. 1837) had the narratives

First Baron Harington

of this voyage, which had probably been preserved by Hakluyt; but he does not publish it.

April 8, Master Wm. Welby entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, "Three Articles sett downe by the Councell of Virginia for 300 men to go thither." I have not found this publication.

April 11, the voyage of Thos. Edge and Jonas Poole to Greenland and towards the west of it.]

CLXIV. A BILL OF ADVENTURE.

April 11, Master Wm. Welby entered for publication at Stationers' Hall "under the handes of Sir Thomas Smith & Th' wardens. The bylls of adventure, with blanckes concerninge the Summes of money disbursed for adventures towards the voyage of Virginia." The following I believe to be a copy of one of these "bylls of adventure."

"The Byll of Adventure.

"Whereas paid in ready money to Sir Thomas Smythe Knight, Treasurer for Virginia the sum for adventure towards the said Voyage.

"It is agreed that for the same the said shall have ratably according to adventures full part of all such lands, tenements and hereditaments as shall from time to time be there recovered planted and inhabited: And of all such mines and minerals of Gold, Silver and other mettalls or treasure, pearls, precious stones or any other kind of wares or merchandise commodities or proffitte whatsoever which shall be obtained or gotten in the said Voyage according to the porcion of money by imployed to that use in as ample manner as any other adventurer therein shall receive for the like summe.

"Written this daye of ."

I suppose these Bylls of Adventure had been previously written. They were now printed, leaving the necessary blanks for names, etc.

CLXV. COTTINGTON TO SALISBURY.

These documents (CLXV. and CLXVI.) are from the English State Paper Office, Correspondence, Spain. They are the earliest references which I have found, from the representative of England at the Court of Spain; but I suppose the English Ambassador at that court was always performing his duty, in this matter, in the interest of England, as faithfully as the Spanish Ambassador in England certainly performed his duty in the interest of Spain; yet it seems that their correspondence has not been so faithfully preserved.

April 10, 1611, Francis Cottington, English Ambassador in Spain, writes from Madrid to Lord Treasurer Salisbury:—

"... The Shipps, buylt at ye Havana (& sayd to be ordayned for a journey unto Vergiñia) are now in Lysbone. I am dayly tould by many, that from thence shall ye Verginyan Voyage proceed, and with at least 40 sayle of shipps, to which I doe give soe lyttle credit, (knowing ye poore abylyty of this state) as I am almost ashamed to advertyse yt unto your Lordship, *yet can assure you out of my own knowledge that with those plantations they are here so much trobled, as they know nott how to behave themselves in the busyness.*"

CLXVI. COTTINGTON TO SALISBURY.

April 23, 1611, Cottington again writes to Salisbury:—

"The rumor of sending from hence certayn armed Gallions unto Verginia doth dayly encrease, but I am styll soe farr from beleeving yt as I would not wyllingly that your Lordship should soe much as dreame of yt."

[Mem. — The first voyage of the English to the Islands of Japan, being the eighth voyage set forth by the East

India Company, begun April 18, 1611, returned to England September 27, 1614.]

CLXVII. VELASCO TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2588, FOLIO 39.

Copy of an original letter of Don Alonzo de Velasco to the King of Spain, dated London, May 26, 1611.

"SIRE. The report which Y. M. commanded me to look into[1] — telling of two vessels that had sailed from here for the East Indies; but this was uncertain. For they have only gone to Virginia or and to the Island of Trinidad, as the opportunity offered in search of tobacco. These are the ships of which I have given an account to Y. M., and *I think it would be a difficult task for any vessel of some size to sail from here without my knowledge.* From Holland it may be that they sail without my knowing it; but if the news were certain that came these few days ago, they will look more carefully before going to those parts. They say that the Indians have murdered all the Dutch and burnt their ships in the ports in which they were fighting against them, having found themselves to be cheated by the false money which they gave them in trading with them. If this information shall be confirmed, or not, I will report the matter to Y. M. whom God preserve as is needful. From London May 26. 1611.

"DON ALONSO DE VELASCO."

[MEM. — Captain Matthew Somers arrived in England in the Patience with the body of Sir George Somers some time after February 28 and before July 26, 1611, possibly in May; but, I think, much more probably early in July.

"Toward the end of May 1611, Sir Thomas Gates,

[1] Unfortunately, as I have said, the king's dispatches for 1611 are lost.

Knight, Lieutenant General of Virginia was sent with three ships and three Carvells, and two hundred and fourscore men and twenty women, and *two hundred* kine, and as many swine with other necessaries." — Stow's "Chronicle," abridged by Howes (edition 1618). Other accounts[1] say that he carried "*one* hundred kine and two hundred swine." Hamor[2] says he arrived in Virginia 'about the second of August," and that his "passage was more long than usuall." The usual voyage was about *nine weeks*. Lord De la Warr mentions his having met "Gates at the Cowes neere Portsmouth;" but he does not give the date of the meeting. We know that Lord De la Warr was at the Azores on the 18th of April; but we do not know how long he remained there. We know that he arrived in London on the 21st of June; but we do not know how long he had then been in England. However, I am inclined to rely upon Howes and Hamor, and to think that Gates sailed "toward the end of May, 1611," or early in June, although "The New Life of Virginia"[3] conveys the impression that letters from Dale in Virginia were received in England before Gates was "furnished out," etc., by the special exertions of the "Lord Generall Cecill, Sir Robert Mansel and some others." I think the author of CCX. must have erred. Dale arrived in Virginia May 12 (not 10 as in CCX.), and his letter of Aviso was sent from Virginia May 25. It could scarcely have reached England before June 25, and if so, Gates could not have had over about five weeks in which to be "furnished out" and to make the voyage. That is, if he arrived in Virginia "about the second of August," as stated by Hamor; but there is some cause to doubt the accuracy of this date also. However, without discussing the matter further, I will only repeat that I am inclined to think that Gates sailed from England "toward the end of May" or early in June, 1611. All documents, letters, etc., carried over by him then are now probably lost.]

[1] CLXXI. [2] CCCXXVII. [3] CCX.

CLXVIII. BIARD TO BALTHAZAR.

CLXVIII., CXCVI., CCCXII., and CCCXIII. are taken from a collection made from the Jesuit archives at Rome, published by R. P. Auguste Carayon, S. J., at Paris, France, in 1864, under the title "Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada." The translations given in this work were made for me by Professor M. Schele De Vere of the University of Virginia.

May 31 (O. S.). Letter written by Father Biard to the Very Rev. Christopher Balthazar, Provincial of France, in Paris. (Copied from the autograph preserved in the Archives of Jesus at Rome.)

"My Reverend Father!

Pax Christi!

". . . This affair and several others which occurred during the latter part of our journey were the reason why we could not leave Dieppe before January 26 [16] 1611. M. de Biancourt, a young, highly accomplished gentleman, with much experience afloat was our conductor and chief on board. We were 36 persons in a ship called the Grace of God, of about sixty tons. We had only two days favorable wind; on the third we found ourselves suddenly, by contrary winds and tides, driven within one or two hundred yards of the cliffs of the Isle of Wight in England, and it was well for us that we found there good anchorage; without which all would have been decidedly over with us. Having escaped from there we landed at Hyrmice and afterwards at Newport where we spent 18 days.[1] On the 16th February, the first day of Lent a favorable North-west wind sprang up,

[1] The English were at once placed on their guard against these French colonies on the borders of North Virginia, and had probably posted themselves well before Argall was commissioned to remove them, about July, 1612.

enabled us to leave and accompanied us till we left the channel behind us.

"From Port-Royal in New France, on the 10th of June, 1611. PIERRE BIARD."

CLXIX. PHILIP III. TO VELASCO.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PARCEL 2641.

Copy of a minute of a letter of the King of Spain to Don Alonso de Velasco, dated Madrid, June 17, 1611.

"For Don Alonso de Velasco.

"Because it is understood that the English are still exceedingly busy with that question about Virginia, and it is important to think of a remedy with which all this may be met. I charge and command you to send from that Kingdom, where you are, two Catholic men, in whom you can perfectly trust, sending them aboard the first vessel that may sail for those parts and directing them to bring to you a very exact account of all that is going on there, so that, being better informed, the most suitable measures may be adopted. In this you will be very careful to see that the utmost diligence be used before the injury grow larger, and you will inform me of all that may be done in this matter."

CLXX. DE LA WARR TO SALISBURY.

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, CORRESPONDENCE, JAMES I. VOLUME 64, NO. 53, CAL. PAGE 48.

Lord De la Warr had probably reached England some little time before the following letter was written; but the exact date of his return is not known.

"To the right honorable my very good Lord the Earle of Salisbury Lord High Treasurer of England. Give thes.

"May it please your Lop: —

"I would gladly have wayted on your Lordship the last

night as soone as I came to towne but I understoode from Sir Walter Cope that your advice was otherwise: first to have a care of my health, then to attend his Majesty and afterwards your Lordship. For my health I thank God I finde myselfe perfectly recovered though something weake in regarde of my long sicknes, ever since my first arrivall at the Ilands I have recovered dayly, and I arived at Fiall the 18th of Aprill, or thereabouts, so that I dare bouldly say, that I have no touch of my disease remayning on me, and if your Lordship shall thinke it fitt I would presently attend his Majesty. This long and paynefull sickness of myne, hath no whit discoradged me to proceede with the business I have undertaken, if it be now prosecuted as it is begun; nether had my retourne hether bin so suddayne if the winds had favoured myne intention for the West Indies, at my departure from Virginia: for I dare bouldly say there was never more hope then at this present and when it shall please your Lordship I doubt not but to give you full satisfaction to every doubte or scandall that leyeth upon that country, fearing nothing less then an honorable and profitable end of all if it be not let fall.

"Thus attending your Lordship's further advice I humbly take my leave this 22d of June 1611.

"Your Lo: servant to command,

"Tho: La Warr."

CLXXI. DE LA WARR'S RELATION.

The following tract was entered for publication at Stationers' Hall on July 6, 1611, "under the handes of Sir Thomas Smithe and the Wardens." It was again printed by Purchas in his "Pilgrimes," vol. iv. pp. 1762–1764, and Captain Smith gives some extracts from it in his "General History" (1624), p. 109.

At the sale of the so-called Sir Francis Drake's Library in March, 1883, an original fetched $132.75.

Originals are now preserved in this country in the Lenox

and John Carter-Brown libraries, and in the library of Mr. Kalbfleisch of New York.

It is probably the only publication of the first English Lord Governor and Captain General in America. Mr. Griswold printed twenty copies of CLXXI. in 1868; but I have never seen this reprint.

"The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-la-Warre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of the Colonie, planted in Virginea.

"London ¶ Printed by William Hall for William Welbie, dwelling in Pauls Churchyeard at the Signe of the Swan. 1611.

"A Short Relation made by the Lord De-La-Warre, to the Lords and others of the Counsell of Virginia, touching his unexpected returne home, and afterwards delivered to the generall Assembly of the said Company at a Court holden the twenty five of June, 1611.

"Published by authority of the said Counsell.

"My Lords, etc.

"Being now by accident returned from my charge at Virginea, contrary either to my owne desire, or other men's expectations, who spare not to censure me, in point of duty, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne, I am forced, (out of a willingnesse to satisfie every man) to deliver unto your Lordships, and the rest of this Assembly, briefely, (but truely) in what state I have lived, ever since my arrival to the Colonie; what hath beene the just occasion of my sudden departure thence; and in what termes I have left the same: The rather because I perceive, that since my comming into England, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred, in many of the Adventurers that some of them seeke to withdraw those paiments, which they have subscribed towards the Charge of the Plantation, and by which that Action must bee supported and maintained; making this

my returne the colour of their needlesse backwardnes and unjust protraction. Which, that you may the better understand, I must informe your Lordships, that presently after my arrival in James Towne, I was welcomed by a hot and violent Ague, which held mee a time, till by the advice of my Physition, Doctor Lawrence Bohun, (by blood letting) I was recovered, as in my first Letters by Sir Thomas Gates I have informed you. That disease had not long left me, till (within three weekes after I had gotten a little strength) I began to be distempered with other greevous sicknesses, which successively & severally assailed me: for besides a relapse into the former disease, which with much more violence held me more than a moneth, and brought me to great weakenesse; the Flux surprised me, and kept me many daies: then the cramp assaulted my weak body, with strong paines; & afterwards the Gout (with which I had heretofore beene sometime troubled) afflicted me in such sort, that making my body through weaknesse unable to stirre, or to use any maner of exercise, drew upon me the disease called Scurvy; which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was in me an effect of weaknesse, which never left me, till I was upon the point to leave the world.

"These severall maladies and calamities, I am the more desirous to particularize unto Your Lordships (although they were too notorious to the whole Colonie) lest any man should misdeeme that under the general name and common excuse of sicknesse, I went about to cloke either sloth, or feare, or anie other base apprehension, unworthy the high and generall charge which you had entrusted to my Fidelitie.

"In these extremities I resolved to consult my friends, who (finding Nature spent in me, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily encreasing) gave me advise to preferre a hopefull recovery, before an assured ruine, which must necessarily had ensued, had I lived, but twenty dayes longer, in Virginia: wanting at that instant, both food and Physicke, fit to remedy such extraordinary diseases, and to restore that strength so desperately decayed.

"Whereupon, after a long consultation held, I resolved by generall consent and persuasion, to ship myself for Mevis, an Island in the West Indies, famous for wholesome Bathes, there to try what help the Heavenly Providence would afford me, by the benefit of the hot Bathe: But God, who guideth all things, according to his good will and pleasure, so provided, that after we had sailed an hundred Leagues, we met with Southerly windes which forced me to change my purpose (my body being altogether unable to endure the tediousnesse of a long voyage) and so stear my course for the Western Islands, which I no sooner recovered, then I found help for my health, and my sickenesse assuaged, by meanes of fresh diet, and especially of Orenges and Lemonds, an undoubted remedy and medicine for that disease, which lastly, and so long, had afflicted me: which ease as soone as I found, I resolved (although my body remained still feeble and weake), to returne backe to my charge in Virginia againe, but I was advised not to hazard myselfe before I had perfectly recovered my strength, which by Counsell I was persuaded to seeke in the naturall Ayre of my Countrey, and so I came for England. In which Accident, I doubt not but men of reason, and of judgement will imagine, there would more danger and prejudice have happened by my death there, then I hope can doe by my returne.

"In the next place, I am to give accompt in what estate I left the Collony for government in my absence. It may please your Lordships therefore to understand that upon my departure thence, I made choise of Captaine George Pearcie, (a gentleman of honour and resolution, and of no small experience in that place) to remaine Deputie Governour, untill the comming of the Marshall, Sir Thomas Dale, whose Commission was likewise to be determined, upon the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates, according to the intent and order of your Lordships, and the Councill here.

"The number of men I left there were upwards of two hundred, the most in health, and provided of at least tenne

LUCY HARINGTON

Countess of Bedford

moneths victuals, in their store-house, (which is daily issued unto them) besides other helps in the Countrey, lately found out by Captaine Argoll, by trading with pettie kings in those parts, who for a small returne of a piece of Iron, Copper, &c. have consented to trucke great quantities of Corne, and willingly imbrace the intercourse of Traffique, shewing unto our people certaine signs of amitie and affection.

"And for the better strengthening and securing of the Collony, in the time of my weaknesse there, I tooke order for the building of three severall Forts, two of which are seated neere Poynt Comfort, to which adjoyneth a large circuit of ground, open, and fit for corne: the thirde Fort is at the Falles, upon an Island invironed also with Corne ground. These are not all manned, for I wanted the Commoditie of Boates, having but two, and one Bardge, in all the Countrey, which hath beene cause that our fishing hath beene (in some sort) hindered, for want of those provisions, which easily will be remedied when we can gaine sufficient men to be imployed about those businesses, which in Virginia I found not: but since meeting with Sir Thomas Gates at the Cowes neere Portsmouth (to whom I gave a perticular accompt of all my proceeding, and of the present estate of the Collony as I left it) I understood those wants are supplyed in his Fleete.

"The countrey is wonderfull fertile and very rich, and makes good whatsoever heretofore hath beene reported of it, the Cattell already there, are much encreased, and thrive exceedingly with the pasture of that Countrey: The kine all this last Winter, though the ground was covered most with snow, and the season sharpe, lived without other feeding than the grasse they found, with which they prospered well, and many of them readie to fall with Calve; Milke being a great nourishment and refreshing to our people, serving also in (occasion) as well for physicke as for Food, so that it is no way to be doubted, but when it shall please God that Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, shall arrive in Virginia with their extraordinary supply of one

hundred Kine, and two hundred Swine, besides store of all manner of other provisions for the sustenance and maintenance of the Collony, there will appeare that successe in the Action as shall give no man cause to distrust that hath already adventured, but encourage every good minde to further so worthy a worke, as will redound both to the Glory of God, to the Credit of our Nation, and to the comfort of all those that have beene Instruments in the furthering of it.

"The last discovery, during my continuall sicknesse, was by Captaine Argoll, who hath found a trade with Patomack (a King as great as Powhatan, who still remaines our enemie, though not able to doe us hurt.) This is a goodly River called Patomack, upon the borders whereof there are growne the goodliest Trees for Masts, that may be found else-where in the World: Hempe better then English, growing wilde in abundance: Mines of Antimonie and Leade. Without our Bay to the North ward there is also found an excellent fishing Banke for Codde, and Ling as good as can be eaten, and of a kinde that will keepe a whole yeare, in shippe's hould, with little care; a tryall whereof I have now brought over with mee. Other Islands there are upon our Coasts, that doe promise rich merchandise, and will further exceedingly the establishing of the Plantation, by supply of many helpes, and will speedily afford a returne of many worthie Commodities.

"I have left much ground in part manured to receive corne, having caused it the last Winter to be sowed for rootes with which our people were greatly releeved.

"There are many Vines planted in divers places, and do prosper well, there is no want of anything, if the action can be upheld with constancy and resolution.

"Lastly concerning myselfe, and my Course, though the World may imagine that this Countrey and Climate will (by that which I have suffered beyond any other of that Plantation) ill agree, with the state of my body, yet I am so farre from shrinking or giving over this honourable enterprise,

as that I am willing and ready to lay all I am worth upon the adventure of the Action, rather then so Honourable a worke should faile, and to returne with all the convenient expedition I may, beseeching your Lordships, and the rest, not onely to excuse my former wants, happened by the Almighty hand: but to second my resolutions with your friendly indeavours: that both the State may receive Honour, yourselves Profit, and future Comfort, by being imployed (though but as a weake instrument) in so great an Action.

"And thus having plainely, truely, and briefely, delivered the cause of my returne, with the state of our affayres, as wee now stand, I hope every worthy and indifferent hearer, will by comparing my present resolution of returne, with the necessitie of my comming home, rest satisfied with this true and short Declaration.

"FINIS."

CLXXII. SPELMAN'S RELATION.

This document in MS. was preserved by Dawson Turner. At the sale of his library in 1859 it was bought by Joseph Lilly, the bookseller, and at his sale, July 7, 1871, it was purchased by Mr. Stevens for Mr. James F. Hunnewell, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who had it published, in 1872, at the Chiswick Press, London, England.

The tract relates to events in 1609–1611. Spelman returned to England with Lord De la Warr in June, 1611, and I suppose it was written soon after. He makes an oversight in saying that he arrived in Virginia in October (it was August). The ships left Virginia in October. He is confused in his story of the assassination of Ratcliffe and his men, and has given two accounts, neither of which seems satisfactory. It seems evident that the Indians had used him as a decoy to lead Ratcliffe into the ambush, and doubtless the part which he had probably innocently played gave him trouble and anxiety. As a whole it seems as reliable as most narratives of the time and place. He has

corrected his MS. by marking out the words in italics and writing instead the words in brackets.

"Beinge in displeasuer of my frendes, and desirous to see other cuntryes, after *three moneths* [some weekes] sayle we cum with prosperus winds in sight of Virginia wher A storme sodenly arisinge seavered our *fleete* [ships] (which was of X sayle) every shipp from other, puttinge us all in great daunger for vij or viij dayes togither. But ye storme then ceasing our shipp called ye Unitye came ye next morning saffly to an anker at Cape Henry, ye . . . daye of October, 1609, Wher we found thre other of our fleete, and about a senight after thre more cum thether also. The resideu [still remayned] amongst which was Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers, Knights *wear* [who being] not hard of many months after our arrivall.

"From Cape Henry we sayled up ye River of Powāhtan and within 4. or 5 dayes arived at James towne, wher we weare joyfully welcomed by our cuntrymen, being at that time about 80 persons under the government of Capt. Smith, the President. Havinge heare unladed our goods and bestowed sum senight or fortnight in vieinge of the cuntry. I was caried By Capt Smith our President to ye Fales, to ye litell Powhatan wher unknowne to me he sould me to him for a towne caled Powhatan and leavinge me with him ye litle Powhatann, He made knowne to Capt. Weste how he had bought a towne for them to dwell in desireing that Captaine West would come and settle himselfe there; *but Captaine West having bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place, misliked it: and unkindnesse thereuppon ariseing betweene them* [wheruppon Capt Weste growinge angrye Bycause he had bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place] Capt Smith at that time *repliede* [saying] litell *but* [yet] afterward *conspired* [wrought] with the Pohawtan to kill Capt Weste, which Plott tooke but smale effect, for in ye *meanetime* [interim] Capt. Smith was Aprehended, and sent abord for England. Myself havenge binn now about vij or viij dayes with the litell Powhatan, who though he

made very much of me givinge me such thinges as he had to winn me to live with him. *Yet* [when] I desired to see our English and therfore made signes unto him to give me leave to goe to our ship to search such thinges as I leafte behind me, which he agreed unto and settinge himselfe doune, he clapt his hand on the ground in token he would stay ther till I returned. But I staying sumwhat to long, at my cumminge [back] to ye place wher I leaft him I found him departed wheruppon I went backe to our shipp beinge still in ye Fales and sayled with them to Jamestoune, wher not beinge long ther, Before one Thomas Savage with 4. or 5. Indians came from the great Powhatan with venison to Capt. Percye, who now was President. After the delivery therof, and that he must returne he was loith to goe without sum of his cuntrymen went with him, wheruppon I was apoynted to goe, which I the more willinglie did, by Reason that vitals were scarce with us, cariinge with me sum Copper and a hatchet which I had gotten. [And] cumminge to the great Powetan I presented to him such thinges as I had which he tooke, usinge me very kindly, [settinge this Savage and me at his oune Table messe] and After I had bin with him about 3. weekes he sent me backe to our English bidding me tell them, that if they would bring ther ship, and sum copper

he would fraught hir backe with corne, which I having reported to our English and returninge ther answer to ye Kinge, He before ther cumminge layd plotts to take them, which in sum sort he affected, for xxvj or vij they killed which cam towards land in ther long boate, and shott many arrows into ye shipp, which our men perseyving and fearinge the worst, wayed

he would fraught hir backe corne which I having reported to our English and returning their answeare to ye Powhatan. Captaine Ratclyff came with a shipp with xxiiij or. xxv men to Orohpikes, and leaving his shipp there came by barge with six teen men to ye Powhatan to Powmunkey where he very curtuously in shew received them by sending them bread

anker and returned.

Now whil this busines was in *action* [doing] ye Powhatan sends me and one Sam- and venison in reward where of Captaine Ratclyff sent him copper and beades and such like. Then Powhatan appointed Cap. Ratclyff a house for him and his men to lye in during the time that they should traffique, not far from his owne but above half a mile from the barge, and himself in the evening comeinge to *the* [ther] house slenderly accompanied welcomed him thither, And [after Capt. Ratclyff] returned leaving the Dutchman, Savage and myself behinde him. The next day the Powhatan with a company of Salvages came to Capt Ratcliff, and caried our English to their storehouse where their corne was to traffique with them, giveing them peices of copper and beades and other things According to ye proportions of ye basketts of corne, which they brought; but the Indians dealing deceitfully by pulling or beareing upp the bottom of their baskets with their hands soe that ye lesse corne might [searve to] fill them. The English men taking exceptions against it and a discontentment riseing

well a Duchman to a toune about xvj miles of caled Yawtanoone willinge us ther to *stay* [till] for him.

uppon it ye King *departed taking* [conveied himself and] me and ye Dutchman with him and his wives hence, And presently a great number of Indians that lay lurking in ye woods and corne about began with an Oulis and Whoop ubb and whilest our English men were in hast carieinge their corne to their shipps the Indians that weare hidden in ye corne shott the men as they passed by them and soe killed them all saveing one William Russell and one other whoe being acquainted with ye country escaped to James towne by land.

"At his cumminge thether we understood how althinges had passed by Thomas Savage, as before is related, the Kinge in shew made still much of us yet his mind was much declined from us which made us feare the worst, and having now bin with him about 24 or 25 weekes, it happned that the Kinge of *Patomeck* [Pasptan] came to visitt the great Powetan, wher beinge a while with him, he shewed such Kindnes to Savage, Samuell and myself, as we determined to goe away with him, when the daye of his departure was cum, we did as we agreed and havenge gone a mile or tow on the way, Savage fayned sum excuse of stay and unknowne to us went backe to the Powetan and acquaynted him with our *departing* [fleing] with ye Patowomeck. The Powetan presently sends after us commandinge our returne, which we *refuseing* [not belevinge] went still on our way: and thos that weare sent, went still on with us, till one of them findinge oportunity on a sudden strooke

Samuell with an axe and killed him, which I seinge ran away from amonge the cumpany, they after me, the Kinge and his men after them, who overtake them heald them, till I shifted for myself and gott to the Patomeckes cuntry. With this Kinge Patomecke I lived a year and more at a towne of his called Pasptanzie, untill such time as an worthy gentleman named Capt: Argall arived at a toune cald *Nacottawtanke* [Xatanahane[1]], but by our English cald Camocacocke, wher he understood that ther was an English boy named Harry. He desiringe to here further of me cam up the river, which the Kinge of Patomeck hearringe sent me to him, and I goinge backe agayne brought the Kinge to *ye shipe* [him], wher Capt: Argoll gave the Kinge [sum] copper for me *which he* [and he] receyved. Thus was I sett *at libertye* [free] and brought into England."

The rest, some 4,000 words, relates chiefly to the customs, etc., of the Indians.

[Mem.—Captain Adams, who sailed from Virginia in the Hercules on the 25th of May, probably arrived in England late in June or early in July, 1611, bringing, among other documents, letters, etc., CLXXIII[1]., Dale to Counsell, and Dale to "the Committees," CLXXIII[2].]

CLXXIII[1]. DALE TO THE COUNCIL.

Careful transcripts of the copies of CLXXIII[1]. and CLXXVI., made by Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, and found in his collection of manuscripts, now deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, were sent by G. D. Scull, Esq., of Oxford, England, to Mr. R. A. Brock, corresponding secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, who published the first in the "Richmond Standard" of January 28, 1882, and the other in the same paper of February 4, following. CLXXIII[1]. was also published by Mr. Neill, in 1885, in his "Virginia Vetusta," pp. 77–83.

[1] Possibly the Spanish "Xacan."

"Sir Thomas Dale to the President and Counsell of the Companie of Adventurers and Planters in Virginia.

"RIGHT HONORABLE AND THE REST OF OUR NOBLE FRIENDS. — After I had left the lands end the 17 of March with soe happie successe (by the permission of the divine goodnesse), and with soe fayre windes was our whole journey accompanied as within one month, the 29. of Aprill, We had in friendly consorte all our whole fleete together reached Dominico, a passage which I coulde hartily wish might not be declined by those our English fleete which should at any time make into Virginia probable enough, as may appeare by this our tryall to be most speedie. And I am right well assured most convenient for our peoples refreshing and preservation of our Cattle. The first may be made good by reason of a contynual winde from the Canaries to the West Indies; the second by restitution of our sick people into health by the helpes of Fresh ayre, diet and the baths. For true it is we being under shipped of tonnage, and pestered by that means, that our goods filled up the Orlage having no room for our men to be accommodated, but crowded together their own aires and the uncleantiness of the ship, dogs, &c., gave some infexion amongst us and was the cause of the loss of well more a dozen men. I could earnestly wish therefore that you will be pleased to advise the undertakers concerninge this point, that the like inconvenience may be avoyded in the future.

"The 12. of May we seized our Bay and the same night with a favourable South-East gale (all prayse to God for it) we came to an anchor before Algernoone Forte at Point Comfort, where to our no small comfort again we discovered The Hercules, even then preparing to take the advantage of the present Tide to set sayle for England. We had no sooner saluted the Fort, and that us, and were come to an anchor, but Captain Adams came aboard us in his longe boate, who gave me to understand both of his Lordship's departure for Mevis in the West Indies some ten days

before our coming in (as by his Lordship's letters you shall further understand thereof) as of Captain Percy's being at the Fort, who together with some of the present Counsell had come down thither to give Captain Adams his discharge. It was not full two hours before myself and Captain Newport went ashore, where we had related unto us the full circumstance of many things and the condition of the present Colony. In this forte we found besides Capt. Davis his Company, the most of Sir Thomas Gates his Company there living quartered as well by reason they were not of competency in numbers to take in againe the two Forts of Kecoughtan, and to supply James Towne and Algernoune fort both, as also because at all times this place yieldeth the better reliefe, by means of the Fishing, than James Towne.

"I found many omissions of necessary duties which would have indeed advanced the end which we have now proposed concerning the perpetual subsistence of the Colony but a plantation being not the full and utmost intention resolved on, or so advised from home; but rather the search after those mines which Faldoe the Helvetian, had given intelligence of in England, and which his Lordship was intreated unto by the Committees letters (which I have since seene) to make exploration of, was the cause of those omissions. Howbeit, I found how carefull his Lordship hath been in what either his forces, or own abilitie of bodie enable him unto. And well I perceave his zeale, how it is enflamed to his Right Noble worke. According therefore as his Lordship left in direction for me (if I should come in before his returne) with a commission likewise to governe as his Deputy in the Interim.

"My first labor was to repossesse me of the two last yeares erected forts upon Southampton River, Fort Henry and Fort Charles. The second day therefore after my arrivall, I went and viewed the forts and ground for corn finding the Pallasadoes yet most standing about those forts and the ground though somewhat later in the year to be

RE. SAMUEL PURCHAS

HENRY HASTINGS
Fifth Earl of Huntingdon

SIR EDWARD COKE
Chief Justice

sowed with some little paines to be cleared. I drew all my new men ashore and taking some of the rest of both Companies quartered as aforesaid in Algernoune Fort, whilest I employed our Carpenters to build Cabins and Cottages for the present, we on all hands fell to digging and cleaning the ground and setting of corn and in 4. or 5. days we had set more ground about Fort Henry than Sir Thomas Gates found sett by the Indians in the year before. After I had forwarded this worke because I conceaved it necessary as well to look into the present state of James Towne and what might be fit to be accomplished there before my search further up for a convenient new seat to rayse a principall Towne according to my directions, as also to unlode our provisions into our Magazine of which I know some of [our?] ill-conditioned ships required the more speed, as likewise carefull to sett some hands likewise on the worke for the lading of the ships with all conveniency and speed for their Returne.

"I left the charge of corn setting about Charles Fort under the command and care of the Captains which I nowe had brought; leaving therefore still on shore with them all my new Company. Constituting Capt. James Davys, Taske Master of the whole three Forts: who having instructions given from myself should appoint each Captain of the Fort what to command his officers and his people to execute, who weekly therefore (I did so order it) that they should give accompt to Capt. Davis, and Capt. Davis to me. This thus settled and every one busy at his taske and days labor, the 19. I came before James Towne, being Sonday in the afternoone, where I landed and first repairing to the church (the company thither assembled) Mr. Poole gave us a Sermon, after that Mr. Strachy did openly read the commission which his Lordship had left with him for me, Capt. Percy surrendering up his, it being accordingly so to expire. I found here likewise no corn sett, some few seeds put into a private garden or Two; but the cattle, cows, goats, swine, Poultry &c to be well and carefully on all hands preserved

and all in good plight and likeing. The next day I called into consultation such whom I found here made of the Counsell by his Lordship, where were proposed many businesses necessary, and almost every one essentiall which indeed required much labour and many hands, as namely, the reparation of the falling Church and so of the Store-house, a stable for our horses, a munition house, a Powder house, a new well for the amending of the most unholsome water which the old afforded. Brick to be made, a sturgion house, which the late curer, you sent by the Hercules, much complayneth of, his work otherwise impossible to come to good, and indeed he dresseth the same sturgions perfect and well, a Block house to be raised on the North side of our back River to prevent the Indians from killing our cattle, a house to be set up to lodge our cattle in the winter, and hay to be appointed in his due time to be made, a smith's forge to be perfected — Caske for our Sturgions to be made, and besides private gardens for each man — Common gardens for hemp and flaxe and such other seeds, and lastly a bridge to land our goods dry and safe upon, for most of which I take presente order — and appointed first for the Church Capt. Edw. Brewster with his gang, and for the stable Capt. Lawson with his gang. Captain Newport undertook the Bridge with his Mariners. All the Savages I set on work who duly ply their taske, and thus when these are done the others shalbe set upon. In the meane while we now of necessity are inforced to plie the unlading of our ship to which we call other hands not imployed and I myself likewise somewhat busied two or three days to dispatch Capt. Adams with all speed with these our letters of Aviso, who the 21. was present with [us] at Counsell where we positively determined with God's grace (after the Cornes setting at the Princes Forts) to go up unto the Falls ward to search and advise upon a seate for a new Towne, with 200 men, where we will set downe and build houses as fast as we may, resolving to leave at James Towne some good fifty men with a sufficient commander for the preservation

of our breeders. Likewise at that Counsell it being then debated howe hopefull the trust for a while would be unto the Northward rivers, especially the Pattomack for corne after harvest. I did forbid all manner of tradings with the Indians least our Commodities should grow every day with them more vile and cheap by their plenty. And being pollitiquely conveyed by Powhatan unto those Northerne people, who seeing our eccess threaten againe (as in the last winter was Capt Argall in the Discovery) might forstall our truckings. Likewise the 21. I went into Paspahaighes ould Towne; because it was related unto me to be good ground to sowe corn, in purposing to set there some hemp and flax; but surveighing it, I found it too much rough weeded and over-growne with shrubbs and bushes which nowe being greene and high would not be so readily cleansed this year for any service. The 22. I made divers proclamations which I caused to be set up for the publique view, one for the preservation of our cattle amongst ourselves; another for the valuation of provisions amongst the Mariners, the copies of which I have sent and leave to your noble considerations, every one here thinking those rates very easy and reasonable.

"Let me intreat that we may have both a Vice-admiral and hired Mariners to be all times resident here, the benefit will quickly make good the charge as well by a trade of furs to be obtained with the Salvages in the Northern Rivers to be returned home, as also to furnish us here with corn and fish. The want of such men all this time, whom we might trust with our pynaces, leaves us destitute this season of so great a quantity of fish as not far from our own Bay, would sufficiently satisfy the whole Colony for a whole year. Our wante likewise of able chirurgions is not a little, be pleased to advise the *committees* for us in this pointe.

"And thus having nothing else at this present to be further a necessary trouble to me, I humbly take my leave, in all offices and travell to the advancement of this your hope-

full Colony, bowing me ever unto the same and your honorable command

"a constant & perpetuall Servant

"THOMAS DALE.

"Virginia, James Towne, the 25 of May, 1611."

CLXXIII². DALE TO THE COMMITTEE.

July, 1611. The author of "The New Life of Virginia" (CCX.) says that Sir Thomas Dale sent a letter at this time "to the committies," assuring the adventurers so long as he remained there, their ships should never returne empty. His words are these: —

"But if any thing otherwise then well betide me in this businesse, let me commend unto your carefulnesse, the pursuite and dignitie of this businesse, then which your purses and endeavours will never open nor travell in a more acceptable and meritorious enterprize, take foure of the best kingdomes in Christendome, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this countrie either for commodities or goodnesse of soile."

The author then goes on to say that "this sparke" determined the adventurers to furnish out Sir Thomas Gates with six ships, etc., without delay, etc., but I believe Gates had already sailed before Dale's letters were received. The adventurers had certainly determined to send Gates, even before Dale sailed himself.

CLXXIV. VELASCO TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2588, FOLIO 59.

Copy of an original letter of Don Alonso de Velasco to the King of Spain, dated London, August 22, 1611.

"SIRE. — Lord de la Warre, who was Governour of Virginia two years ago, has returned, leaving there by stealth,

saying that he went in search of certain baths near the coast. Because if it had been suspected that he meant to come here the people who had remained there in garrison, in two forts which he had erected since he went out there, would not have let him go. And in order to excuse his return, he has published a book, advocating a further reinforcement of that Colony, which has much declined by the persons who have died, and the sufferings which they endure, persecuted as they are by the Indians, so that, if it were not for the two forts, they would have made an end of them all. Notwithstanding all this, if it were not that they sadly want some outlet for all the idle and wicked people such as this kingdom has, they will for that purpose even preserve that post. For this purpose they now propose to erect a fort on the island of Vermuda, which, tho' it is two hundred leagues from Virginia, still has been able to succour them very effectually — especially with herds of swine, which are innumerable there and altho' the Coast of Bermuda is dangerous, having no considerable port at all, still they will find shelter there for small vessels.

"In the first ship that may sail for Virginia, I shall send a trustworthy person, to confirm myself in the special certainty of things as they are there.

"May God preserve Y. M. as is needed. From London August 22 1611.

"Don Alonso de Velasco."

[Mem. — August 16, 1611, there was entered at Stationers' Hall for publication, by John Wright, bookseller, "A ballad called the last newes from Virginia being an encouragement to all others to follow that noble enterprize." Unless this is an edition of CXXXVIII., no copy is known to have been preserved. I think it is "the same worke more at large," promised "To the Reader" in that document, which was also "to be solde by John Wright, at Christ-Church dore."]

CLXXV[1]. THE WEYMOUTH BOND.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER RECORDS. KIMBOLTON MS. NO. 204. ABSTRACT.

"Sept. 8, 1611. Authorisation to George Weymouth, of London, gentleman, by Sir William Bonde, of Highgate, in the County of Middlesex, Knight, to make the purchases, and other arrangements necessary for building, victualling, arming, and manning (with a crew of 20) a a ship of 40 tons, and for victualling it for a year. (Parchment.)"

Although I give only an abstract from this document, I have numbered it, because it is still in existence, and may be obtained if necessary.

CLXXV[2]. CRANFIELD'S RECEIPT.

Among the MS., etc., of the Earl De la Warr, listed in the Fourth Report of the Royal Hist. Commission, is the following: —

"1611. Sept[r] 20. A Printed Paper. Lionel Cranfield Esq. has subscribed £12. 10[s] to Sir Thomas Smythe K[t] and shall have a proportionate share with the other adventurers of gold and silver and other metals and treasure. Sealed in the presence of Edward May. Seal. the Royal Arms, with a motto."

This was a bill of adventure.

CLXXV[3]. EXTRACT FROM TRINITY HOUSE RECORDS.

Among the Records of the Trinity House, listed in the Eighth Report of the Royal Hist. Commission, pp. 236, 237, there are some very important depositions, taken October 24, 1611, by the master, wardens, and assistants of the Trinity House, regarding Hudson's last voyage to the northwest. They sailed from London April 18, and en-

tered Hudson's Bay August 2, 1610. Wintered there. June 12, 1611, homewards bound. June 23, Henry Hudson and eight others were set adrift in Hudson's Bay. "To save some from starving, they said, they were content to put some away." Six others died, or were killed by the natives, and eight only returned to England, and they possibly saved their own lives by causing many in England to believe that the discovery of the passage to the South Sea was finally assured. I have never seen these depositions in print. They are only illustrative of, and do not belong strictly to, my work, therefore I do not give them.

[Mem. — CLXXXIII. says a vessel reached England from Virginia about the last of October, 1611, bringing an account to James I. of the arrival there of the Spanish spies. This document is now probably lost. CLXXVI., CLXXVII., and CLXXVIII. presumably reached England by this ship (the Prosperous?), which I suppose left Virginia in September; but I think Dale had previously sent the Elizabeth in July, as a private "Aviso" to the Virginia Council in England.]

CLXXVI. WHITAKER TO CRASHAW.

"Good Mr. Crashaw, you heard by my last letters[1] how prosperous a journey I had hither, and must now againe send you word how God hath contynued his goodness towards me and preserved me safe hitherto with great hope of good success to our purposes. It is needless that I should write unto you of every particular of our doings, for I suppose it would be unsavoury to the conceit of a schollar and your heavenly meditations to heare what corne we have sett, what boats we have built &c; but I will acquainte you with one thinge which may be worthy your consideration and wherein I desire to know your opinion. Our Gov^r Sir

[1] These letters, which have not been found, were probably sent by Captain Adams May 25, 1611.

Thomas Dale pretended an expedition to a place called the ffalles, seaven or viii daies before his goinge the Kinge of the Indians Powhatan by his Messengers forbidd him those quarters, and demaunded of him 2 Indian prisoners which he had taken from them, otherwise he threatened to destroy us after strange manner, ffirst he said he would make us drunke and then kill us and for a more solemnity gave us vi or vii daies respite. Sir Thomas was verry merry at this message and retourned them with the like Answere. Shortly after without any deliverances of the prisoners he wente armed to the ffalles, where one night our men beinge att praiers in the cours of guard a strange noise was heard cominge out of the corne towards the trenches of our men like an Indian "*hup hup*" with an "*Oho Oho*"[1] some say that they sawe one like an Indian leape over the fier and runne into the corne with the same noyse. Att the which all our men were confusedly amased. They could speake nothing but "*Oho Oho*," and all generally taking the wrong end of their armes beyon the Thebans Warre against Cadmus. But thanks be to God, this Alarum lasted not above half a quarter of an hower, and no harme was done excepting 2. or 3. that were knockt downe without any further harme ffor sudenly as men awaked out a dream they began to search for their supposed enemies, but findeing none remained ever after very quiett. Another Accident fell out in a march upp Nansemund river as our men passed by one of their Townes, there yssued out on the shoare a mad crewe dauncinge like Anticks, or our Morris dancers before whome there went Quiockosite (or theire Priest) tossed smoke and flame out of a thinge like a censer. An Indian (by name Memchumps) amongst our men seeing this

[1] This noise was probably made by a night owl, as he flew about the fire for a moment, and then away "into the corne."

Mr. Neill gives extracts from this letter in *Virginia Vetusta*, pp. 165–166. The whole was published in the *Richmond Standard*, February 4, 1882. See introduction to CLXXIII[1]. N. B. If Gates had arrived in Virginia about the first of August, why is it that his arrival is not mentioned in either CLXXVI., CLXXVII., or CLXXVIII.?

dance tould us that there would be very much raine presently and indeed there was forthwith exceedinge thunder and lighteninge and much raine within 5. miles and soe further of, but not so much there as made theire powder dancke. Many such Casualties happen, as that the principall amongest them beinge bound with stronge Irons and kept with great watch have strayed from us without our knowledge or prevention. All which things make me thinke that there be great witches amongest them and they very familiar with the divill. I should more admire Virginia with the Inhabitants yf I did not remember that Egipt was exceedinge faithfull, that Canaan flowed with milke and honey before Israel did overrunne it, and that Sodom was like the garden of God in the dayes of Lott. Only I thinke that the Lord hath spared this people and inriched the bowells of the Country with the riches and bewty of Nature that we wantinge them might in the search of them communicate the most excellent merchandize and treasure of the Gospell with them. God hath heretofore most horribly plagued our contrimen with famine, death the sword, &c., for the sins of our men were intollerable. I marvell more that God did not sweepe them away all att once, then that he did in such manner punishe them. Yet he in the midest of his anger remembered mercy, and mindeinge nowe (as we hope) to fulfill his purpose and sett up the Kingdome of his Sonne on their parts most miraculously withstood manytimes the purposes of our men whoe were retourninge home, and now againe with farre more successive proceedings and better hopes doth preserve us here. As for me God hath dealt mercifully with me beyond my friends' opinion and my owne hopes. My cominge hither was prosperous and my continuance here hath been Answerable, I thinke I have fared better for your prayers and the rest. Yf there be any young Godly and learned Ministers whom the Church of England hath not, or refuseth, to sett a worke send them thither. Our harvest is froward and great for want of such. Younge men are fittest for this country, and we have noe

need either of ceremonies or bad livers. Discretion and learninge, zeal with knowledge would doe much good. I have much more to write, but nowe can noe more, besides my prayers to God for a blessinge on our laboures. ffarewell your lovinge friend.

"ALEXANDER WHITAKER.

"James Towne in Virginia. this 9. of August. 1611."

CLXXVII. PERCY TO NORTHUMBERLAND.

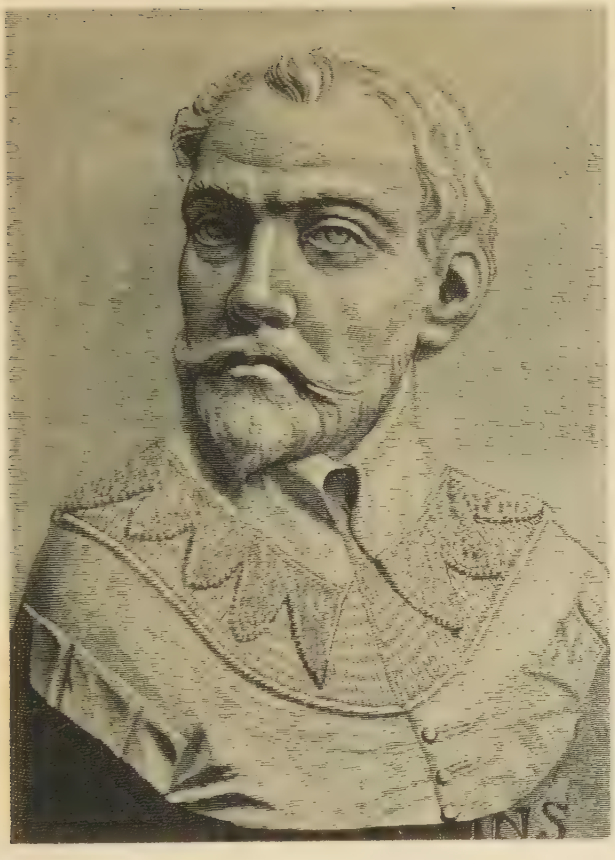
This document was published by the Rev. Edward D. Neill in 1885, in his "Virginia Vetusta," pp. 84–85.

I have almost invariably relied on my own copies of documents (whether they have been previously printed or not) for these pages, and I have copies of nearly every document mentioned, except the Percy Papers. I have not had access to these, and the documents given from them are taken from Mr. Neill's works.

"To the right Honorable my singuler good Lord and Brother, The Earle of Northumberland, give these.

"RIGHT HONORABLE: — I am not ignorant, and cannot therefore be unmindfull in what I may so satisfie your Lordship for your manifold and continuall curtesies which I dayly and at the reprotch of everie shipping do abundantly taste of, and I must acknowledge freely that this last yere[1] hath not bin a little chardgable unto your Honnor who I hope will continue so noble and honorable opinion of me as you shall not think anything prodigally by me wasted or spent which tendeth to my no little advancement: True it is the place which I hold in this Colonie, (the store affording no other meanes then a pound of meale) cannot be defraied with small expense, it standing upon my reputation (being Governeur of James Towne) to keepe a continuall and dayly Table for Gentlemen of fashion aboute me, my request unto

[1] "February 6th, 1610, the Earl of Northumberland made payments for Mr. George Percy to the amount of £432. 1s. 6d."



SIR JOHN HAWKINS

your Lordship at this present is to intreate your Honnor to be highly pleased to dischardg a Bill of my hand made to Mr. Nellson, and likewise a Bill of eight pounds unto Mr. Pindle Burie of London merchant and I shall ever be in all humble dutie bound unto your Lordship.

"And thus wishing all honnor and happines to accompanie you in this world and eternall blisse in the other to come, I cease to be further unnecessary troublesome unto your Lordship, ever vowing myself and the uttmost of my services in all duty unto your Honnor, and rest.

"Your Lordship's

"lovinge brother.

"GEORGE PERCY.

"Virginia, James Towne, August. 17, 1611."

CLXXVIII. DALE TO SALISBURY.

STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL, JAMES I. VOLUME I. NUMBER 26.

The following letter from Sir Thomas Dale to Salisbury has never been published in this country I believe.

"RIGHT HONO^BLE — I knowe right well how covetous (if not zeleous) your full and absolute meditations are, over and concerning this so pious so heroicke enterprise; (in these dayes not imploying any State in Christendome, with a like worke parallel to it, whither be admitted the accesse of honnor, bounties of nature, inlardgment of temporarie respects, or the honor of God, and inlardgment of his Kingdome) in so much as, it is well observed, that you lend no busie thought so mutch welcome and grace, as what bringes Tales, and restles discourse of the constitution thereof. And it is out of this (thrice honored Lord) that I presume to give us somewhat of hir praises who since my comming into this Countrie have taken pains to informe myself of it, even concerning those mixed conditions and secondary wayes by which hee may meete us with the more favour,

knowing it to be true that the same conditions are to be required in this Countrie (habitable aire, temperate and wholesome, the breeders of the land and Rivers and benefites of the earth for Corne and fruite) which other Countries deliver unto the subsisting and being of mankinde and both of the one and all of that under this kinde I have approved, and may uprightly testefie in so mutch as there are not those feares and slaunders to be laid out upon the commodities, or clime, or soile of this Countrie which Ignorance or malice have poisoned the generall opinion with.

"I doe finde many kinde of Beasts, fish and ffowle, goodly corne, and a greater quantitie than may easilie win beleife, Vines, and those with hable meanes soone to returne a certain and plentifull vintage: for our ordinary well knowne commodities I may not denie but that here are their materialls, though here noe hands to gather and work them unto our advantage.

"It is onely in the power (excellent Lord) of as true a Lover of God and your Countrie (and of so free an offerer unto so languishing and forsaken a holy action) as your Honnor is, to advance this work unto hir propper heigth and send sutch labourers thereunto as may take of the filme of ignorance and simplicitie which vaile the eyes of these poore wretches from looking upon their owne bewtie which if the devine goodnes by your potent meanes should make them see what a worcke had you wrought into them and unto yourself No age wold be ever silent of it, and indeed (right worthie to be most famous Lord) so lardgly hath allreadie your Exchequer opened unto hir being as but for your bountie she had not long since beene at all,[1] and then not now to make complaint by me of hir weake being.

"In that she hath hitherto no better thrived but still everie yeare after fresh and new additions of men and monies declined rather and stooped under many disasters allmost past reparation hath been because the true groundes

[1] From this it seems that Salisbury had rescued the colony from destruction or abandonment.

which shold have advanced hir have not bin hitherto so faithfullie followed, as faithfullie and maturely advised, howbeit I can lay no blame upon the will and desires of the interchangeable Undertakers, but upon the want of those great disbursments which at one tyme and at first must fix and settle hir, for I confess it an Enterprise of chardg.

"Yet now at length let me boldly affirme it unto your Lordship (and laying for the same, my life to paune if I performe it not) that with the expence of so mutch monie as now at once disbursed to furnish hither 2.000 men, to be here by the beginning of next Aprill, I wold in the space of two yeares (my number still made good) render this whole countrie unto his Majestie, settle a Colonie here secure for themselves, and readie to favore all hir ends and expectations, for by the severall Plantations and Seates which I would make I shold so over master the subtile-mischeivous Great Powhatan, that I should leave him either no roome in his Countrie to harbour in, or drawe him to a firme association with ourselves, and he being brought to this shift of fortune to seek a straunger Countrie or to accept of a well liked condition of life with us how would it strike upon the neighbour Salvadges confining him (who in all probabilitie of reason) may be wun then unto our owne conditions. And that it may be thus wrought I humbly beseetch your Lordship to pardone my weaknes, if unto your habler Judgment I presume to present the meanes thus unto your Honnor. All the tract of Land which lieth betweene our River, which we call the King's River, and that whereupon Powhatan dwelleth (which may be in some places twentie miles over, and from Point Comfort up to the Falls extendeth in length some 150 miles) is all in the commaund, and containeth the principallest Seates of Powhatan, which I would secure unto us (and by haveing them, of necessitie be commaunders of the oposite South Shoare.).

"Att Point Comfort I would first fortefie to secure as above, and hold open the mouth of our River to lett shipping into us: And where the two Princes Forts there are

at Kecoughtan, fashion and lay out a spatious and commodious Towne, for a cheife Commander, where is allreadie 2. or 3.000 acors of cliered ground to sett corne, and plant Vines; and Vines growe naturallie there in great abundance with all. This place is apt for fishing, as likewise there grows our best silk grass.

"Some 15 miles from hence at a place called Kiskaick somewhat short of Powhatan's cheif Towne (called Worowocomaco upon the North side of the River) should my second Plantation bee, for that would make good the inland and assure us likewise of Pamunkit River.

"My third should hould as it doth at James towne.

"My fourth should be at Arsahattacks 80 miles up our River from James Towne where I have surveied a convenient strong, healthie and sweete seate to plant a new Towne in, (according as I had in my instructions upon my departure)[1] there to build, from whence might be no more remove of the principall Seate; and in that forme to build, as might accommodate the inhabitants, and become the Title and Name, which it hath pleased the Lords allreadie to appoint for it.

"A fifth I could advise to be Tenn miles above this, to commaund the head of the River, and the many fruitefull Islands in the same: These divisions (like Nurseries) sending out smaller Settlements, (upon some places yet of moment) would worck my former promise concerning the full possession of Powhatan's Countrie, and this Countrie of itself would affoard many excellent Seates for many a thowsand Householder.

"And beleive it right noble Lord without these forces to make good these severall Seates (the haveing whereof not only secures our lives from the subtile Indian, but brings us in plentie of wherewith to feede our lives, to cloath our Bodies, and to explore the hidden and unknowne commodities of the whole countrie). It shalbe in vaine to strive any longer to settle a handfull of wretched and untoward peo-

[1] So the city of Henricus was planned in England about March, 1611.

ple here and great expectations to be placed over their labours, with waking and jeleous eyes, expecting the return of sutch retributions, and benefites, secrett commodities and ritches, which is as impossible for them to get, either into their possession or knowledg, as it is to poise and weigh the mountaines.

" I have sene (right excellent Lord) a spatious and fruitfull circuit of ground even from Point Comfort, up to the Falls, upon many seates both upon the one and the other shoare, and in all places within the lower Countrie finde that plentie of corne, which our Companie Adventurers in England hardly believe can be here at all, and at the Falls, I cannot onely testifie of corne, but of all probabilities of mines, when our tyme shall serve (which may not be yet) and where I gathered many scattered peeces of Cristall.

" I am not ignorant (noble Lord) how cold the devotions of men take this great worcke and some former slaunders yet upon it (not removed) deterr many a meane^r man from his personall adventure hither, howbeit I am right well assured if we once had here the number of 2.000 men as aforesaid I should in little tyme even satisfie the worst and widest assertion of him who most malignes it, or flies from it: for the two plantations the one at Arsahatacks, the other at the head of the Falls upon the maine of Taux-Powhatan's Land do so neerely neighbour all the cheife and and onely varietie and chaunge of Townes and howses belonging to the Great Powhatan as either he would ione friendship with us, or will leave then to our possession his countrie and thereby leave us in Securitie. Upon them we might nourish our owne Breeders, and hunt and fowle upon the land, and fish in the Rivers, and plant our corne and Vines boldly and with saftie by which meanes we should no more lament us of want or scarcitie of any provision, and onely the not haveing of sufficient of provision (and in that good kindes likewise) hath bin and is yet the greatest enemie unto the speedie peopling of the Colonie: —

" And upon the arrivall of those 2.000 men (may they

be here before the next Aprill though sent at two severall tymes) if but sent hither furnished with six monethes provision of corne. I would never after chardg the companie for any commoditie or supplie in that kinde againe for them as long as they staid in the Countrie.

"And sithence (noble Lord) I know well the Colonie standing in sutch conditions and state as it doth how hard it is to procure so many men in so short tyme I have (under your Lordship's pardone) conceived that if it will please his Majestie to banish hither all offenders condemned, betwixt this and then, to die, out of common Goales, and likewise so continue that grant for 3. yeres unto the Colonie (and thus doth the Spaniard people his Indes) it would be a readie way to furnish us with men, and not allwayes with the worst kinde of men either for birth, spiritts or Bodie, and sutch who wold be right glad so to escape a just sentence to make this their new Countrie and plant and inhabite therein with all diligence, cheerfullnes and Comfort: Whereas now sutch is the universall disposition throughout our whole little Colonie (as by reason of some present want of our english provisions) as everie man allmost laments himself of being here, and murmurs at his present state, though haply he would not better it in England, not taking unto them so mutch patience untill some few yeres have accomplisht the fullnes of our better store by the growth and increase of our Cattle, planting and tilling of our corne and Vines, and indeede (right noble Lord) our discontented companies makes good that old saying *Jejunus exercitus non habet aures.*

"Nor can I conceive how sutch people as we are inforced to bring over hither by peradventure, and gathering them up in sutch riotous, lasie and infected places can intertaine themselves with other thoughts or put on other behaviour then what accompanies sutch disordered persons, so prophane, so riotous, so full of Mutenie and treasonable Intendments, as I am well to witness in a parcell of 300 which I brought with me, of which well may I say not

many give testimonie beside their names that they are Christians, besides of sutch diseased and crased bodies as the Sea hither and this Clime here but a little searching them, render them so unhable, fainte, and desperate of recoverie as of 300 not three score may be called forth or imploied upon any labour or service.

"Thus (my right noble Lord) I have presumed to apeale you from your grave and serious affaires to peruse a tedious storie of the Condition wherin your Colonie both ever heretofore and now for the present remaineth: — Some meanes likewise I have presumed as I conceive it to offer unto your Lordship how it may be truly recovered and prosper with greater comfort both to the Adventurers at home and to us here.

"Unto all which if it shalbe pleasing unto your Lordship still to voutchsafe your powerfull and honorable furtherance you shall mutch binde us the poor Planters, forever to continue our prayers which we make dayly for the access of all honnor and happiness unto your Lordship, and in few yeres should his Majestie possesse another Kingdome as goodly as what the Sunn can looke upon, (to which his gold-creating powre is no neerer a neighbour:) and thus both it and my unworthie services humblie commending unto your Lordship ceasing to be unnecessarie troblesome, I humbly kiss your Lordships hand.

"One Advertisement[1] I am loath to omitt unto your Lordship, who may be pleased to understand how this Sommer a Spanish Carvall came into our River fitted with a shallop necessarie and propper to discover freshetts, Rivers and Creekes, where she ancoring at the mouth of our Bay upon Pointe Comforte, sent three Spaniards ashoare into the ffort there placed demaunding a Pilott to bring their said Carvall into our River. What may be the daunger of this unto us, who are here so few, so weake, and unfortified, since they have by this meanes sufficiently instructed them-

[1] Probably the main advertisement. Perez, and Lymbry. The English The three Spaniards were Molina, pilot was Captain Clark.

selves concerning our just height and seate, and know the readie way unto us both by this discoverer, and by the help likewise of our owne Pilott, I refer me to your owne honorable knowledg.

"Your Lordships humble Servant

"THOMAS DALE.

"August 17th 1611. Virginia, James Towne."

"The Capt. of the fort sent him a Pilot, And the Carvall made out of our Bay, leaving the 3. Spaniards ashore, who I have now here Prisoners."

Indorsed: "Sir Thomas Dale to Salisbury. August 17th 1611."

[MEM. — The following extracts are from Shakespeare's play of "The Tempest," which, it is said, was first produced on the stage November 1, 1611 (Hallowmas night): —

ACT I. SCENE II.

Prospero. But are they, Ariel, safe?
Ariel. Not a hair perish'd;
On their sustaining garments not a blemish,
But fresher than before; and, as thou bad'st me,
In troops I have dispers'd them 'bout the Isle: —
. . . . . .
Prospero. Of the king's ship,
The mariners, say, how thou hast dispos'd,
And all the rest o' the fleet?
Ariel. Safely in harbour
Is the king's ship; in the deep nook, where once
Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From *the still-vex'd Bermoothes*, there she 's hid:
. . . . . .
. . . . . And for the rest o' the fleet,
Which I dispers'd, they all have met again.]

CLXXIX. LEE TO WILSON.

Hugh Lee to Thomas Wilson, secretary to Lord Salisbury, Madrid, November $\frac{2}{12}$, 1611.

"The succes of Francis Lymbrye, the English Pilott that went out of Portingale to the discovery of Virginea, ys happened unto hym as I ever hoaped yt woulde, for the Carvell that carryed hym, ys retorned without him, but whether he weare stayed there against his will, or that out of his Love to his Country he stayed hymselffe, I refer me to the truth which you shall receve from thence, but very glad I ame, that he retorned nott, to make reporte of whatt was comytted to hym in charge; I hoape the Advertisement given of his goinge,[1] will be esteemed for a Loyall service, — yt pleased my Lord Ambassador to acquaint me with this newes, unto whose larger relation[2] I refer you."

CLXXX. LERMA TO AROSTEGUI.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2588, FOLIO 81.

Copy of an original letter of the Duke of Lerma to Secretary Antonio de Arostegui, that Don Alonso de Velasco should be written to concerning the liberty of the three persons whom the English had made prisoners in Virginia, written at the Prado, November 13, 1611.

"His Majesty having seen what the Council of War has reported to him concerning the success of the Voyage made by the persons who went out to examine the place which the English occupy in the Indies, in that country which they call Virginia, (of which the report [CLXXXI.] is here enclosed) has been pleased to decide, that I should write

[1] This document not found.

[2] Possibly CLXXXII.

The letters given from Cottington, Winwood, Lee, Digby, Edmondes, Chamberlain, and Carleton were all copied for me in the English State Paper Office, very few of them have been published in America.

thro' the Council of State to Don Alonso de Velasco, Embassador in England, what just resentment it has produced that, a large sloop having sailed, under orders from the Governor of the Havana (or Island of Cuba) in search of a vessel which left Carthagena in the Indies with certain guns which were taken there out of a galleon that was stranded on the coast of Buenos Ayres, and having passed thro' the sea of 'la Florida' on that errant, and three persons belonging to said sloop having gone on shore in good faith, called Diego de Molina, Marco Antonio Peres and 'Maestre Antonio,' some Englishmen made them prisoners, who say that under orders from their king they have taken possession of that part of the coast which they call Virginia.[1] He is commanded to use all diligence with that king, employing all necessary skill and dexterity, to keep from him the purpose for which these prisoners went there, and that without doing them any harm, they should be set free and allowed to go back and comply with the orders which the Governor of the Havana had given them.

"From said report it will appear that these prisoners are the 'Alcayde' Don Diego de Molina, Ensign Marco Antonio Perez, and Francisco Lembri, an English pilot, but the Ambassador must not give their names but do as has been said above.

"You will immediately take the necessary measures for this, charging him to obtain, as far as it may be possible for him, the liberty of these men, since, aside from the importance this matter has for H. M.'s service, they are persons of great consideration.

"May God keep you, etc.

"In the Pardo. November 13. 1611.

"The Duke [Signature.]

"M^r^ Secretary Antonio de Arostigui."

[1] King Philip's little plan for finding the location, etc., of the colony in Virginia, although somewhat farfetched, is very interesting, and the result quite amusing.

JAMES HAY

First Earl of Carlisle

CLXXXI. REPORT OF THE VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. VOLUME 2538, FOLIO 82 (INCLOSED IN FOLIO 81).

Copy of a document inclosed in the letter of the Duke of Lerma to the Secretary Antonio de Arostegui, dated November 13, 1611.

"Report of the Voyage to the Indies, as far as Virginia, which the large sloop made by order of His Majesty, in behalf of the Alcayde Don Diego de Molino, the Ensign Marco Antonio Perez, and in their company Francisco Lembri, English pilot of the Navy.

"Said sloop left Lisbon April 13th [3d, English style] 1611, with the persons mentioned above and a Master, a pilot and 13 sailors, sailing by the Havana, which was reached on May 24 [14] and they handed to Don Gaspar Ruyz de Pereda, Governor of that island Y. M.'s despatches which the said Don Diego and the Ensign Marco Antonio Perez brought, and in obedience to H. M.'s orders said Governor dispatched the 'Caravela,' consenting, however, to their wish that they might not be named commanders of a Squadron, so as not to add to the suspicions about this plan entertained by the sea faring people there who were all Portuguese, and availed themselves of a piece of news (altho' false still much circulated) which had been current, that they had sent from Carthagena a ship laden with ammunition, and that it had been lost, and that now the 'Caravela' was to sail for the purpose of recovering the ammunition, in its search passing along the coast of 'la Florida,' in obedience to instructions which were given to them for that purpose, and which are as follows: What Don Diego de Molina and Antonio Perez have to do in the voyage which upon my order, they are commanded to make for the recovery of the ammunition lost, is as follows: —

* In the secret instructions which they brought from Spain, and in orders for the Governor of the Havana, it was said that he should conceal them under the name of Heads of a Squadron and a land force.

The English Pilot, above mentioned. Francisco

Lembri, changed his name to Master Antonio, and thus he is to be called there, as long as he is not set free, with the said Diego de Molina and Antonio Perez.

"The first thing that is charged upon them, is the shortness of the passage from this port to where they must go in the Caravela, and the which has been handed over to them and which they are to carry abaft till to the 'Caveza de los Martires' [Bay of the Martyrs?]; and from there to follow the Bahama channel, and to look out, if in some key, harbour or estuary within it, or, after having examined it, in all the in/out lets, on the whole coast of 'la Florida,' they can discover the ship, called 'The Plantation,' which will be 300 tons burden, and is that which sailed from the port of Cartagena with the ammunition, there taken out of the Chief Galleon which was wrecked on the coast of the Buenos Ayres, this way. Since it is certain, that in the disabled conditioned in which it was known to be, when it parted from the fleet, with a broken mast and without a rudder, it cannot have made a certain and safe voyage; it is necessary to sail along the coast until it is met with, because, as a matter of course, even if it should not be found entire, they will have to find some relics of it. According to the place where these may be found, they will have to make an effort to get to where it was stranded. And if God should be pleased to let them find it entire and capable of being steered, they have to do everything possible to take it to one of the Windward islands, where the people and the ammunition may remain in safety, provided it be not possible to return with it here thro' the same channel, and in that case they are directed to load the Caravela with 12 or 14 pieces of 35 to 40. hundred weights and to return with them here promptly thro' the same channel. Then according to the Tonnage and the draft of the said Caravela, it will be an easy matter to get in between Keys, and the advantage of being able to sail this galleon the present year with the others of the Silver-Fleet consists in the short time for carrying those pieces. If the ship should be stranded and be beyond repair, so as not to be fit for use, they must try

to take out of it the same number of pieces and come with them, leaving the others sunk with buoys fastened to them, and having carefully marked the place and reconnoitred the harbour or the estuary where they are, so that when we send to get them, with the report they will have brought, remembering that, if for this reason as well as for the finding of them when the 'Virey' [Viceroy] President comes here and the generals, it will be most urgently necessary, that they should try to gain time as much as can possibly be done without, at the same time, losing one moment. But even on that account they must not return till they have discovered that ship, however much it may be necessary to prolong their stay and to increase the cost. If the people of the ship should wish to come on board the Caravela, their own vessel not being fit for navigation, they will take them on board and try to treat them well, and they will in like manner take in the arms, ammunitions and tools which may be found. If, however, those people or a part of the crew should wish to remain there as a guard for the said ammunition, they may be left there, it being by their own free will, so that they may come back with those who will be sent to fetch them, and in that case there may be left to them such a share of the arms, ammunitions and tools as they may need. This order they will obey very particularly, because of its importance for the service of God and of H. M. to whom a report will be made of the manner in which they may have acquitted themselves on this occasion.

"Don Gaspar Ruiz de Pereda."

"With this order and the sloop and four seamen [rowers] for it, which Don Gaspar gave them, they left 'la Havana' on June 2d. [May 23] towards the channel, and landed at San Augustin of la Florida on the 8th [May 29] and having been there 8 days, their purpose was not discovered nor even suspected. Thus having made all diligence searching asking all along the coast and examining it to trace the ship, they were in search of, they continued their voyage coast-

ing along, sounding and seeking the land at 37°, they came to Puerto and Bahia de Santa Elena, which is at 33°, where they entered with the sloop and also sounded, finding that the bay has at the mouth about three fathoms and farther in a much greater depth, from which the pilot of the Caravela conjectured that there is another channel in said Bay of greater depth. From there, they went on following the coast until they met another river, called River of the Cross, which is at 34°, at the mouth of which they anchored. This was done at night, and in the day, having sounded that harbour and found that at the mouth it may have two or three fathoms depth and within 15, — they continued their voyage sailing in search of the Cape of 'San Roman,' which is at 34°, until where from 'Sant Augustin' of 'la Florida,' the coast runs to the N. E., a quarter to East; which in the ship's course makes 110 leagues. Here they keep away from land, from the coast which makes a small bay of about 25 leagues, and likewise there is a shallow at the South side, which stretches out into the sea for 8 or 9 leagues. From there ['San Roman?'] you sail to the N. E., some 10. or 12. leagues from land, and at the end of 15 leagues there is a shallow which stretches out into the sea 6 or 7 leagues and ends at the N. E. From this shallow to the Cape of Trafalgar you sail also N. E. — S. W., it may be some 30 leagues and said shallow is in 35° and $\frac{2}{3}$ of 36° N. latitude. From Trafalgar to Virginia the coast runs to the N. quarter to N. W; the distance may be about 45 leagues and here you can go hugging the coast at the distance of an arquebus shot from the land, because there are always 7 to 10 fathoms, and there is no shallow at all till you come to the point of the Bay of Virginia, where there is a shallow before you come to the entrance, which stretches out into the sea less than half a league. This point of the bay on the southside is at 37° and 10. minutes N. latitude, and altho' they did not think of making a regular ship's course, it is certain that from San Augustin of 'la Florida,' which is at 30° degrees close measure, to Virginia it may be

by sea in a straight line perhaps 170 leagues, and following the coast perhaps 200 leagues. The Caravela having reached this aforesaid Bay of Virginia (which is called Bay of the 'Xacan') they found it to be very large. Here Don Diego said was the country they were in search of. Sailing up in the centre of the Bay and sounding, they found that it had at the mouth 15 fathoms, and in the middle and higher up, 10 to 4. Here they found a ship lying at anchor close to a point where there was an earthwork, like trenches, and they heard a gun being fired from that direction, but it was not known whether there was a ball fired; but that Don Diego ordered another gun to be fired in reply, but without a ball. He ordered / *They sent for* the sloop, into which went [Don Diego de Molina himself], Marco Antonio, the pilot Lembri, and the Master of the Caravela with 8 or 9 other men, armed with muskets and ammunition, and made them pull them on shore, because, as he said, he was quite certain that this was the ship they were looking for. Before landing, however they discovered near the fortification some 60 or 70 men, and upon their coming to shore these disappeared. One of the sailors having told him [Don Diego] that it would be better to get away from that place to the leeward, because he did not think well of those people, Don Diego said, no one should say a word or he would break his head. Coming then on shore he [Don Diego] ordered the Master to remain in the sloop with the crew, and that he should not come on shore unless he himself should first come and order him to do so, calling 'Pedro,' and atho' he should come if / when he spoke this name, he should not trust any one. The Master wondering very much at this, replied to him, regretting very much that he should not wish him to come on shore with him. Only Don Diego, Marco Antonio and Francisco Lembri did go on shore with their guns, which was a resolution springing from his great courage and because every one insisted upon him, that to him belonged the risk and the danger. One sailor seeing the footsteps which there were in the soil, said they were made by Eng-

lish or Flemish shoes. And then Don Diego replied again that they should keep quiet and say nothing to him, because there were no enemies who would do them harm, and began to walk over the sand. The sloop having pushed off from land they saw some 50 men come out of a creek, in 3. or 4. detachments, apparently Englishmen and Flemish men, who took the three and depriving them of their arms, carried them to the fort. An hour afterwards there came some 20 of them back again and called to the sloop, to come ashore, and the Master replied that he would do so if his Captain came; to which they replied that that was not possible. Some of these men remained there and others went away, bringing Francisco Lembri, and saying that he had come on shore, altho' he did not speak a word, and seeing that he did not come forward, they made the said Lembri tell them, as he did very sadly, striking with his hand outward and crossing his arms, declaring and making them understand that he was a prisoner. Then the Master caused one of the crew to go on shore, swimming, to see if he could learn anything of the three; but they did not permit him to speak to him, standing there surrounded by a guard of ten men with their helmets and their arquebuses, the matches all ready. Soon there came 7 or 8 Englishmen, and one of them asked for the Master, and the sailor replied to him that he was in the sloop and that if he wished to speak to him, he would take him there. and thus he did on his shoulders. Being on board he told the Master, that he was a pilot [Clark.] and meant to put the Caravela close to the fort, and that he should go on shore with 4 other companions, where they would be very well treated. To this he replied that they should show him his captain, whom they had in their power, that thereupon he would go on shore. To this he said that that was not possible. and the Master said that on his side also it would not be possible for him to go on shore, and ordered the sloop to be rowed to the Caravela, which when he saw, he intended to throw himself into the sea, but 3 men seizing him, prevented him, and when he began to cry

aloud they shut up his mouth so that he should not be heard on shore and put him on board the Caravela for good security. On the next day the Master resolved to embark in the sloop with 12 men, with their muskets and the English pilot, to see if they could not for him exchange our men. They came close to the land and discovered on the shore the same men as the day before. These concealed themselves in a creek with the expectation that they would thus be tempted to land and then be caught. But whilst preparing for this, they stopped at the swell of the sea, a stone's throw from land, and the English seeing their caution camed down to the shore, calling with their cloak, and bringing Francisco Lembri there, they made him say again to the Master of the Caravela, that he should come on shore and that they would then consider what was most suitable to be done, as he did not wish to come nor give up the Englishman, if they did not first set free Don Diego and send him back. The aforesaid Englishman tried again to throw himself into the sea, but was prevented by the great care that was taken of him. He said that it was not right to keep him in bonds as he was the chief Pilot of the English in that Bay and the coast of 'Xacan;' with whom then the Master agreed that he should make his Captain come there and speak to him and negotiate with him for his exchange for the three, which he had in his power, and that in all this he was to be alone and without guards. Having said this and the Captain (of the English) having come with 20 musketeers, he was not willing to bring any one of the three. When the Master learned this, he made the Englishman tell the Captain that unless he determined to surrender Don Diego and his companions, that he would fight him. Having heard this he replied from the shore with great anger, that they might go to the Devil. At this time it was seen that they took away Francisco Lembri with much violence and that from behind the English Captain he made signes that they should push out to sea, crossing his arms and hastening to get away. Thus they returned to the Caravela

and discovering that a small vessel was coming out from within the river which falls in on the right hand, they resolved to be off to sea and to return to the Havana, where they arrived on July 20th [10th], without anything of importance having occurred or befallen them on the way, with all the people they took out except Don Diego de Molino, Marco Antonio Perez and Francisco Lembri, who remained in the power of the English. They promptly reported to the Governor all that had happened to them during the voyage, and delivered up the English pilot whom they brought with them. He was ordered to be put in a safe place, where he could not communicate with any one. Having examined him on the 23rd [13th] of said month and taken his deposition, with the aid as interpreter of John 'Lak,' an Englishman, who was a prisoner in that city, with the usual solemnities and formalities, he declared, that his name was John 'Clerique' [Clark] an Englishman by nation, a native of London, and of the same religion as his King; that his duty is to act as pilot and his age is 35 years; that he sailed from the port of London in the month of March of this year, taking the route for the 'Xacan,' since that is the name of Virginia, on the coast of Florida, with three ships, one of 300 tons in which he came himself, and the others of 150. and 90. They went as far as, 'la Dominica' of the Leeward Islands and took on water in stormy weather, from which they went to reconnoitre 'Puertorico,' and from thence they took the route and sailed N. W., and the first land which they made was 12 leagues to the W. of the harbour of Virginia. Whilst at other times they are not apt to come to 'Dominica' to make water, for, unless they fall below 22°, they make their voyage steering W. or E. N. W. without touching land or making the Leeward Islands, as the coast of Virginia is clear for 40 leagues the current running up from E. N. E. to W. S. W., with 60 fathoms water; and at 30 leagues 50 fathoms; at 20 leagues 36 fathoms; at 10 leagues 18 fathoms and at 5 leagues 15 fathoms, and within the five leagues from the land the least

water that there is, is 5 fathoms to 4. and in the proper entrance of the Bay the depth is from 12 to 14 fathoms; and on the Southside of the harbour there is a shallow which has not more than one fathom or one and a half, and on the Northside of it in the real opening of the Bay there are, close to the point, 10. or 12 fathoms of water, and from one point of the harbour to the other from 8 to 5 fathoms; and inside a very good anchoring place for ships under shelter from all winds. Within the Bay itself there are five rivers which flow in different directions, and of 4 of them he has no knowledge of what they are. At the mouth of this said Bay there are four earthworks towards the northern side, all on one bank; and the first fort is at the mouth of that river, which consists of stockades and posts without stone or brick and contains 7. pieces of artillery two of 35 'quintales,' and the others of 30, 20 and 18, and all of iron, where 50 persons are present, counting men, women and boys, of which 40 are fit to carry arms. The second fort stands at two-thirds of a league from the first, and the third at a musket shot, and both of them with their supply of pieces of artillery for defense against the Indians. The principal settlement is the fourth fort, which is 20 leagues up the river from the first fort, and in it there are 16. pieces of artillery of —— iron, and is surrounded with palisades like the others. The houses of the colonists are of wood. As high up as where large ships come and along the bank of the river, where the depth is least, there are three and a half fathoms of water. This changes sometimes with inundations. High and low tide are of half a fathom. The tides go up the river 30 leagues above the town, which must be in all 50 leagues from the entrance to the harbour.

"But you cannot travel by land along that bank (river), and from the end of it to the South Sea it may be 16 to 18 days journey, according to what has been understood from the native Indians. He has never heard that any pirates should have come to this harbour or these rivers, from anywhere; and says that there may be a thousand persons in

all the said settlements, and in the forts some 600 fit for carrying arms, and the others all women, children and old people. The trade for the present does not go beyond some provisions, clothes and other things which they have brought here for said people, and in return they carry wood for barrels and vessels and sasifrage. They have brought to this Colony 100 cows, 200 pigs, 100 goats and 17 horses and mares; and he hears there is a gold mine, for which cause the King has given permission to them to sail from England to these parts. The Government of which was in charge of a brother of Count 'Nortomberlan,' [Earl of Northumberland], appointed for himself, who has been succeeded by Don Thomas 'Del' [Dale], by order of the King of England, who recently came over to said government, in the 3 ships, of which mention has been made; that for August they expected four more ships with some people and a large quantity of cattle, and all under the charge of Don Thomas Gates; and that the people who go out there are outcasts and live by piracy; that the aforesaid narrator has only been this one time in those parts, coasts and ports, where at present there remain six ships in the before mentioned river; the 3. to which he has referred, two others of 70 and of 50 tons, which were built two years ago in 'la Bermuda' (for the purpose of bringing from there to Virginia, in the Spring, 150 persons, who had been wrecked there in a ship, which was of 200 tons, that went in charge of Captain 'Nioporte,' that the blacksmiths and carpenters which they carried took advantage of the wreck to provide the two said vessels (which they were building) with iron and pitch); and one boat of 12 or 13 tons which was built in said Virginia; where there is, also, now, building a galley of 25 benches which will not be finished so soon, as they had but little to begin with and only a few workmen. The Colony of Virginia had a beginning now about five years ago. Where there is no intercourse with the Indians, because at one time it is war, at another time it is peace; they go about dressed in deer skins and with their bows and arrows, which

Sr. John Hayward Kt. Dr. of Lawe.
FLY FROM EVEL DOE GOOD

are the weapons they use. The soil produces no other fruit but maise and nuts; but very far inland there is much game; and fine fishing is found more or less there. Mines of gold and silver have been looked for and this still goes on; but none have yet been found. The Indians bring them none of those metals.

"As to the manner in which our people took him and carried him to the Havana, he reports that a Caravela having come to Virginia, one boat of theirs went towards the land with some men, of whom three jumped on shore, two Spaniards and an Englishman [Lymbry], whom he knew and saw two years ago in Malaga, who was pilot of the fleet commanded by Don Luis Fajardo. They carried the 3. men to the Fort, with the âid of the soldiers who came out on the shore, with the Captain of the aforesaid fort, who is called Davis; and they eat with them and told him that he should go with three or four others to put the Caravela in the Port; and that thus he went to the sloop, to which a sailor carried him on his shoulders, and when they had him inside, they did not let him out again; but carried him to the Caravela; and on the following day they made him go once more in the boat, together with the Master of the Caravela and other sailors, and they went towards the land in order to speak with the English and negotiate the return of each one to his own people. By means of a boy, who served as interpreter, they replied that until they had given an account to the Governor of that country, who was in the Colony, they could not. And as the people of the Caravela thought that one of the vessels which were in the harbour, might come out, they did not want to wait longer and thus they came away.

"All that the said men reported of the capacity of that port, its entrance and its depth, and what there is on the coast, was done in the presence of Don Gaspar [de Pereda]; the chief Pilot, Gaspar de Vargas, being also present with the chart and compasses, who remains well pleased with the accounts which they gave, and in particular with what the

English pilot declared. Don Gaspar writes that he made this comparison to see if they agree in their declarations. Altho' the aforesaid business was transacted before the arrival there of the Marques de Salinas, President of the Indies, the whole was done over again in his presence, and that of the Licentiate Maldonado de Torres, of the same Council, and they persisted and remained firm in what they had said. With the consent and agreement of the said Marques, the Licent: Maldonado and Don Gaspar Ruyz de Pareda, it was resolved as the most suitable to be done that the English pilot should remain at the Havana on account of his safety there, without any communication with any one, and especially of his own nation; which could not be done in Spain; nor should they omit giving notice to the Embassador of England, (and for other worthy considerations besides, that he is there at hand, and another one, who had been found in a ship which was captured on the Tortuga coast of Santo Domingo) with whom negotiations may be carried on about some exchange. Or he might be used as a pilot for anything that might present itself and might be undertaken."

CLXXXII. DIGBY TO SALISBURY.

November 4, 1611, Madrid. Digbye to Salisbury.

"I advertised your Lordship of one James Limry an English pilott serving the King of Spaine, who was sent to the West Indies, and was said to be returned some feawe dayes before the Armada went out. But I since understand, that he remaineth in Virginia having beene sent thither from the Havana upon discoverie, where arriving, he went on shore with the Captayne of the Shipp, and one man more, saying that distress of weather had brought him thither, whereupon, a Pilott was sent aborde to bring in their Shipp. But because this Limry came not aborde according to promise, the Master of the Shipp growing jealous, sett sayle, and went back to the Havana, carrying with him the Pilott

which was sent abord him at Virginia. This newes cometh by a French-man, and an Irishman, who say they spoke with this English Pilott at the Havana, where he was prisoner. And they say that he is now brought secreatly to Sevill in this last Fleet, where I will use all dilligence for the freeing of him, and sending him speedilie home."

CLXXXIII. VELASCO TO PHILIP III.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, VOLUME 2588, FOLIO 83.

Copy of an original letter of Don Alonso de Velasco to the King of Spain, dated London, November 15, 1611.

"SIRE —

"This week a ship has arrived here from Virginia, which the Governor sends to give an account to the king here, how a caravela with some Spaniards arrived there, and having sent to report to them that a bad tempest had driven them thither and to ask for a pilot who might put them into the river, until they should arrange to depart and continue their voyage. This was granted to them, and as soon as the pilot was embarked they sailed away with him, leaving three sailors on shore. This information causes them great concern, as it appears to them that this may be a stratagem to reconnoitre the site and the condition of that Colony, and according to the reports of those who come in this vessel the statements are confirmed which I made to Y. M. of the extreme sufferings of the people who remain there, and that but for the Forts, the whole thing would have long ago been destroyed by the Indians. Thus they tell me that those are cooling off very much, who at first so warmly embraced this enterprise, altho' people are not wanting who still say that there may be access to the South Sea thro' those parts, which is the purpose, at which they have always aimed.

"May our Lord preserve Y. M. etc.

"London. November 15. 1611.

"DON ALONSO DE VELASCO."

CLXXXIII. was evidently regarded as a most important paper, giving information of great consequence. Velasco sent a duplicate copy in CLXXXVIII., which is also preserved at Simancas in volume 2588, folio 93, and Digby procured a copy and sent it to the King of England. Thus three copies remain, — two at Simancas and one in the British Museum.

CLXXXIV. PHILIP III. TO VELASCO.

CLXXXIV. is a translation of the document made at the time, and sent to King James by Digby. CLXXXV. is the translation recently made (of a copy of the original document in the Spanish Archives) for me by Professor M. Schele De Vere.

November 15, 1611. From the Pardo. The King of Spain to Velasco. [Literal translation.]

"'The King.' — Don Alonso de Valasco of my Council and my Ambassador in England. A Carvel having gone by order of the Governor of the Havana in search of a ship which sailed from the Port of Carthagena of the Indies with certain artillery which was there taken from a Galeon which touched on the Coast of Buenos Ayres, and having passed by the Coast of Florida in that Expedition, and three men of the said Carvel, named Diego de Molina, Marco Antonio Perez, and Master Antonio, landing in good faith, certain Englishmen took them, who say that by order of the King of Great Britain they have set foot in the part of that coast which they call Virginia; Of which I have determined to advertize you, and to command you (as I do) to express to the said king the just resentment which I feel at the seizure of these men, and that therefore (I expect) he will give order by the briefest way which may present itself, to the effect that without doing them any damage they do give them liberty to return & accomplish the Commission which the Governor of the Havana gave them. And you shall inform me immediately of the offices which you shall have done in this matter and what shall be its result."